“Soon they will want to wear trousers”: The circulation of misogynistic postcards during the suffragette era

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Abstract

Women's suffrage was the result of organized political activity. During the suffragette era, postcards were used as a means of communication as the production was inexpensive and the delivery was quick. The suffragettes used postcards to advocate for their cause, and soon enough, the opposers of the movement responded with anti-suffragette postcards. The connected aims of this study are to examine the circulation of cultural ideas with these material objects and to examine the cultural phenomenon of sharing. First, the ideas and values implicit in the postcards are examined, and then the practices of circulating them will be analyzed from three vantage points. The objective of this study is to answer the following research questions: 1) How do the different misogynistic tropes in the anti-suffragette postcards connect with storytelling and tropes in traditional tales? and 2) How were these ideas circulated in American and British societies during the suffragette era?

Cultural Materialism was used as an approach, as it helps us identify the postcards as objects used to change the political situation. New Historicism is utilized to uncover the "little histories" of those often ignored in the "grand narratives" of politics. Critical Discourse Studies and Multimodal Discourse Analysis were used to identify the misogynistic tropes most prominent in the selected anti-suffragette postcards. These methods were also used to uncover the intertextual references and the links between the graphics and the linguistic items of the postcards. Additionally, the chapter on the circulation of ideas will introduce three theories, which all relate to how cultural ideas are shared in society: Imagology, Sticky Concepts and Participatory Culture.

Those opposing women's suffrage used the postcards to create disturbing narratives about what might happen if women were to achieve suffrage. Four main tropes in relation to women were identified from the materials: *the maiden, the mother*, *the temptress*, and *the crone* or *the witch*. One remaining trope relates to how men were portrayed: they were *the underdogs* who would lose their position in both family life and in society due to women achieving suffrage. The circulation of the anti-suffragette postcards can be compared to how social media posts are disseminated nowadays, and both relate to the larger cultural phenomenon of sharing. By encouraging story building and using tropes from traditional tales, the misogynistic ideas in the postcards were easily grasped and circulated. However, the volume of production and popularity of the anti-suffragette postcards did not reflect the public opinion on women's suffrage but emphasized the way effective propaganda can work to enforce cultural narratives already prevalent in society. Despite the resistance, women's suffrage was still achieved in both the United States and the United Kingdom.

Tiivistelmä

Naisten äänioikeuden saavuttaminen oli järjestäytyneen poliittisen toiminnan tulos. Postikortteja käytettiin viestintävälineenä suffragettien aikakautena, sillä niiden tuotanto oli halpaa ja toimitus nopeaa. Suffragetit käyttivät postikortteja tehostaakseen toimintaansa ja pian liikkeen vastustajat aloittivat naisvihamielisten postikorttien tuottamisen. Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa käytetään materiaaleina suffragettien vastaisia naisvihamielisiä postikortteja sekä annetaan esimerkkejä suffragettien omista propagandapostikorteista. Tutkimuksen liitännäiset päämäärät ovat sekä tutkia kulttuuristen arvojen ja mielikuvien kiertoa aineellisten kappaleiden kautta yhteiskunnassa että tarkastella näiden arvojen ja mielikuvien jakamisen kulttuurillista ilmiötä. Ensin postikorteista havaittavia epäsuoria arvoja ja mielikuvia tarkastellaan ja tämän jälkeen jakamisen kulttuurisen ilmiön käytänteitä analysoidaan kolmen eri näkökulman kautta. Tutkimuksen tavoite on vastata kahteen tutkimuskysymykseen: 1) miten erilaiset naisvihamieliset mielikuvat liittyvät tarinankerrontaan ja perinteisistä narratiiveista löydettäviin hahmoihin ja 2) miten nämä mielikuvat kiersivät yhteiskunnassa.

Kulttuurimaterialismia käytettiin teoriana, jotta postikortit voidaan ymmärtää esineinä, joilla pyrittiin vaikuttamaan poliittiseen tilanteeseen. Uushistorismi mahdollistaa vähemmän merkityksellisiksi määriteltyjen historioiden tunnistamisen suurien poliittisten narratiivien lomasta. Kriittisen diskurssintutkimuksen teoriaa ja multimodaalista diskurssianalyysia käytettiin naisvihamielisten mielikuvien tunnistamisessa suffragettien vastaisista postikorteista ja niitä käytettiin myös paljastamaan postikorttien intertekstuaalisuus. Tutkimuksen viimeinen kappale esittelee lisäksi kolme teoriaa – imagologia, tahmeat käsitteet ja osallistava kulttuuri – liittyen kulttuurillisten arvojen ja mielikuvien jakamiseen ja toistamiseen yhteiskunnassa.

Suffragettien vastustajat käyttivät postikortteja luodakseen mielikuvia ja kertomuksia siitä mitä tulisi tapahtumaan, jos naiset saisivat äänioikeuden. Materiaaleista pystyttiin erottamaan neljä ilmeisintä naisvihamielistä mielikuvaa: *neitsyt*, *äiti*, *viettelijätär* ja *noita-akka*. Miehiin liittyvä mielikuva paljasti, että miehet esitettiin postikorteissa *altavastaajina*, jotka menettäisivät naisten äänioikeuden myötä asemansa sekä kodeissa että yhteiskunnassa. Naisvihamielisten postikorttien kiertämistä yhteiskunnassa voi verrata sosiaalisen median julkaisujen kiertoon, sillä molemmat liittyvät suurempaan kulttuuristen arvojen ja mielikuvien jakamisen ilmiöön. Naisvihamielisten arvojen leviäminen mahdollistettiin motivoimalla katsojaa tarinoiden luomiseen ja käyttämällä perinteisistä tarinoista tuttuja trooppeja. Postikorttien suosio ei heijastanut kansan yleistä mielipidettä vaan korosti tapaa, jolla tehokasta propagandaa voidaan käyttää yhteiskunnassa jo olevien kulttuuristen narratiivien toistamiseen ja vahvistamiseen. Vastustuksesta huolimatta naisten äänioikeus saavutettiin sekä Yhdysvalloissa että Isossa-Britanniassa.

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"SOON THEY WILL WANT TO WEAR TROUSERS": THE CIRCULATION OF MISOGYNISTIC POSTCARDS DURING THE SUFFRAGETTE ERA

1. Introduction

Women's suffrage has been achieved in most countries in the last 120 years. In several nations where men were granted the right to vote first, women's suffrage was the result of organized political activity by women who risked their lives for human rights activism. In the United States and the United Kingdom, the suffragette movements became more active simultaneously due to the similarities in legislation and the long-standing relationship between the two countries. Today, especially after the rise of the #MeToo movement, talk about equality and women's rights have raised awareness on feminist issues all around the world. The fight for equality continues in both symbolic and concrete ways. For instance, at the State of the Union address of 2019 in the United States, Democratic women used white clothing to recognize and show their solidarity towards women's suffrage movement, and in 2018, Ireland legalized abortion in a historic referendum. Still, there are several countries where women's suffrage has not been achieved and it is important to remember that without the relentless work of suffragettes the world would be different for women.

The opposers of the suffragette's produced postcards to counter the movement. These postcards were misogynistic by nature. The postcards examined in this study are a historical reminder of the way society was in the past but the misogynistic tropes found in the postcards still exist in our society today. Misogyny is term used to describe hatred or prejudice against women ("Misogyny"). Connecting examples of the misogynistic tropes from the anti-suffragette postcards with storytelling and tropes from traditional tales highlights the recurrence of these tropes. According to Palczewski, the postcards depict an argument which was not used in the verbal discourse against women's suffrage but is visible in the postcards (*The Male Madonna*, 365). Moreover, how the misogynistic ideas were circulated by using small cultural items, such as postacrds, and the cultural phenomenon of sharing will be examined.

Women's suffrage originates from the first wave of feminism, spanning the period 1830-1920, and this first wave was initially based in publishing and journalism, but grew from there to include also political campaigns (Kemp and Squires, 3). In this study, the first wave of feminism is pivotal as the focus is on the suffragette era and the circulation of the anti-suffragette postcards. However, later waves of feminisms are introduced to offer context to how the theory has developed after the first wave. Additionally, this study is conducted long after the first wave of feminism and, therefore, the sensibilities of present day assist in noticing some ideological aspects from the anti-suffragette postcards which might have been missed earlier. Viewing the cards with the lens of the present day might also blind from recognizing some aspects of the cards. For instance, in this study none of the postcards feature women of color as suffragettes. The intersectional aspect of feminism helps in recognizing the different social categorizations that have affected the depictions of the suffragettes, such as class and race.

Feminism can be defined as "a theory – systems of concepts, propositions and analysis that describe and explain women's situations and experiences and support recommendations about how to improve them" (Frye). According to Kemp and Squires, the first wave of feminism is distinguishable from its roots in liberal rights perspective, the focus being campaigning for civil rights to women (3). Women achieving suffrage was a result of this battle for civil rights. However, the first wave of feminism was mostly focused on wealthy women with enough resources to participate in political activities, and whereas these women joined protests, others worked and took care of their children. Additionally, the first wave of feminism has been criticized as being focused on White women and disregarding the struggles of Black women.

Women's rights movements arranged rallies in order to advocate for their rights, but these rallies were often organized by White women and the advocacy of their rights was the point of focus. Black women had advocated for their rights for many years, even before the women's rights movements begun emerging, despite the prejudice against them (Hooks, 227). In 1852, a Black woman, Sojourner Truth attended the annual convention of the women's rights movement in Ohio and took the stage, only to be met with disdain from White women who felt that a Black woman should not speak publicly before them (Hooks, 227). Still, Sojourner Truth was one of the first feminists who drew attention to Black slave women who worked alongside men and proved that women could work as equals to men, not inferiors. Additionally, she was the first woman of color to sue a White slave-owner and was able to claim a child back from the slave-owner (Trier-Bieniek, 15). Truth's speech "Ain't I a Woman?" is considered as one of the foundations of feminist theory and the first instances where women of color were brought to the forefront of feminist activism (Trier-Bieniek,

16). The speech was an extemporaneous speech given as a response to the men in the audience claiming how women are delicate beings and how they should be treated as such. Truth spoke up, stating "And ain't I a woman?" to the men, since she was never helped into carriages or lifted over ditches, and she felt that she did not need such help (Trier-Bieniek, 16). The favors and the delicateness were reserved for White women. These features also prevented them from doing the same work Black women did. This exclusion of colored women from the first wave of feminism is visible in the anti-suffragette postcards: none of the postcards in this study depict a women of color. The suffragettes also supported their cause through racism and produced postcards with racist imagery. One of the pro-suffrage postcards in this study depicts the injustice White women felt as they did not have the right to vote but, for instance, Black men were given the right to vote.

The second wave of feminism of 1960s and 1970s focused on reproductive rights, women pursuing careers, addressing violence against women, pay equality, and other issues concerning women's rights at the time (Trier-Bieniek, 16). The mantra "The Personal is Political" characterizes the ideas the second wave of feminism advocated for (Trier-Bieniek, 16). Simone de Beauvoir's work *The Second Sex* presents the idea of women being characterized as 'others' in society, she explains that women's position in society is secondary to that of a man and that women involuntarily participate in oppressive norms (Trier-Bieniek, 17). Still, the second wave of feminism has been criticized for the same exclusion as the first wave was: women of color were left out or placed on the margins of the movement. bell hooks criticizes Betty Friedan, whose works are regarded as having paved the way for feminist ideas, for erasing women of color from the feminist movement (Trier-Bieniek, 17). hooks states that feminism was reserved for "a select group of college-educated, middle and upper class, married White women – housewives bored with leisure, with the home, with children…" (qtd. in Trier-Bieniek, 18). As the White middle- or upper-class women were achieving more freedom and opportunities, women of color were responsible of the work they left behind – caring for children and the household. Additionally, women of color had always been a part of the working population. The work of women of color was invisible to the White women since the type of work women of color did had never been in the realm of possibilities for them. The exclusion of colored women from women's suffrage and feminism caused for a new approach to emerge to feminist theory (Trier-Bieniek, 19). Thus, the second wave of feminism is linked to the appearance of an intersectional approach to feminist theory (Trier-Bieniek, 19). The approach focuses on the examination of the oppression of women from the standpoint of their own experiences and identity and considering multiple factors which contribute to their life, for instance, race, gender, social class, age, and so forth (Trier-Bieniek, 19). Intersectionality introduced to feminism the idea that different forms of oppression are connected and should not be disregarded in relation to one another. Looking at mate-

rials, such as the anti-suffragette postcards, through the lens of a theory developed long afterwards aids in recognizing the intersectionality of the struggle women faced during women's suffrage.

The 90s saw the rise of the third wave of feminism in the works of Naomi Wolf's *The Beauty Myth* and Rebecca Walker in *Ms. Magazine* (Trier-Bieniek, 19). Wolf's as well as Walker's work demanded a refocusing of feminism and were followed by *Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism and the Future* by Amy Richards and Jennifer Baumgardner (Trier-Bieniek, 20). Richards and Baumgardner argued that third wave feminism should include feminist and political theory as well as pop culture (Trier-Bieniek, 20). Thus, pop culture combined with feminism is what allowed the new generations of feminist women to define themselves through, for instance, music and still have a level of political consciousness and activism. Third wave feminism is the first wave in which the young generation has access to the internet and social media, which has resulted in an abundance of ways feminism is defined, thus, feminists are encouraged to define the term for themselves (Trier-Bieniek, 20). Still, the intersectionality of feminism has been in the forefront. Chandra Talpade Mohanty's work was one of the notable works which critiqued 'Western feminism' (Trier-Bieniek, 20). Mohanty states that while producing images of third world women as mainly 'the veiled woman', 'the chaste virgin', and so on, Western feminism maintains the hegemonic position of Western culture and deems anyone else than Western women as 'the other' (62). Another aspect linked to the third wave of feminism is returning to the body. Defining the body as corporeal and simultaneously understanding the intersectionality and different forms of intersectional oppressions affecting it, third wave feminism has brought back the embodied aspect of womanhood (Fahs, 396). Returning to the body means that individual women's lived experiences of their bodies become more important than merely talking about them and studying them.

According to Trier-Bieniek, whether the fourth wave of feminism has emerged is still debatable, but two major schools of thought have been suggested as defining the fourth wave (21). The first focuses on the limits of materialism and the need to turn from being self-centered to be concerned of the planet and its beings, whereas the second emphasizes the use of technology and digital culture (Trier-Bieniek, 22). Social media platforms, such as Twitter or Facebook, have been places where activism and feminist theories are spread. The likes of The Feminist Agenda Podcast or the Instagram-account @feminist present feminist theories in a contemporary and accessible way for the new generation of feminists to consume. The circulation of this type of materials in these mediums is a part of the digital culture associated with the fourth wave of feminism.

Feminism is often associated as a social movement (Frye). Whether one considers feminism as theories or a social movement, the aim remains – to empower women and bring down any structures that does not work for the benefit of women. Frye notes that human beings live in social groups which are not homogenous, thus the relations among the people in the groups are constructed of words, symbols, images, and actions. These constructs create and maintain power relations which are then translated into society as, for instance, identities (Frye). The identity of an individual may relate to them being a mother, a sister, a doctor, a politician, and so on. All these identities hold a different kind of status in society and, more importantly, the distinction is often made based on the individual being a man or a woman. Frye states that this distinction is seen in the division between women's and men's work in various cultures. Feminism aims to deconstruct these kinds of social structures that harm women and men alike. For instance, in Finland, men are encouraged to take a paternity leave as the statistics of several banks have debunked the myth of paternity leave being financially damaging to the family. These actions, advocated for by feminists, help in deconstructing the gendered ideas of stay at home mom's and working fathers. In the 19th century, women's suffrage was strongly linked to feminist ideas, such as women deserving the same right to vote and thus have a say in matters that directly affected them. In a time where political matters were thought to be a privilege reserved to White, wealthy men, several feminists fought for women to be able to take part in political decision-making and recognized as having the same value as men in society.

The suffragette movements have their roots in the civil rights movements, where women sought to change economic and political inequality faced by women. These civil rights movements were starting to emerge in several countries during the 19th century as women became more active politically. Many grew tired of the fact that, for instance, in the United States and in the United Kingdom, the political sphere was reserved for White, wealthy, and land-owning men. People of color and women were left out of politics and did not have a right to vote. The suffragettes campaigned for women's suffrage by being politically active, by advocating with posters and postcards for their cause, and even by resorting to violence in the form of bombings. Several suffragettes were arrested for being involved in the suffragette movement, which resulted in them starting hunger strikes while being incarcerated. The hunger strikes were countered by anger from the establishment and the force feeding of the suffragettes began. Many suffered lifelong injuries or died while advocating for their cause. After the tenacious battle led by suffragettes, the United States granted women's suffrage in 1920. In the United Kingdom, it was not until the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act in 1928 that both men and women achieved suffrage on an equal basis (Johnston, 59). The long and tedious battle for women's suffrage was achieved, but not without extensive resistance.

The suffragette movement was opposed by men and women alike. Women were seen as caretakers and mothers, staying at home doing domestic work while their husbands were involved in political and public work. The suffragettes represented a dangerous new era where the gender roles set by society would be broken and the status quo shaken. The resistance to the suffragette movement was carried out with in a variety of methods and the most popular communication method of the era was not left out. Postcards were an element used by both suffragettes and anti-suffragettes, as coffee-table books consisting of postcards were a household item which sparked discussion and worked as a statement piece to make one's opinion clear to the visitor. Furthermore, postcards were affordable to send, delivered quickly and their production was cheap. The anti-suffragette propaganda postcards were misogynistic by nature, as the aim was to enforce the idea of women not being fit to enter the political sphere. Whether the suffragettes were portrayed as irresponsible for abandoning their children, bitter crones unable to get married, or dangerous temptresses, the aim was clear: women were not fit to enter a space reserved for White, wealthy men.

In order to understand the reasoning behind the usage of propaganda postcards and the impact they had during the suffragette era, the term propaganda is defined. Jowett and O'Donnell define propaganda as a "form of communication that attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" (1). Thus, propaganda is communication that gives the authority to the communicator and furthers the message the propagandist wishes to convey. By doing so, the propagandist ensures that their audience is guided towards their ideology or message. Additionally, propaganda needs to be distinguished from other types of communication, since it often has a distinctive purpose and power to impact public opinions and the behavior of people (Jowett and O'Donell, 1). Political propaganda is one of the most prominent features of propaganda which often leads to the notion that propaganda only exists in politics, but it can be present in any kind of communication. One of the most notable examples of a political propaganda poster is James Montgomery Flagg's image of Uncle Sam (Capozzola, 5). The poster was created to help Americans understand wartime and political power better and was used by the United States army since the early 19th century (Capozzola, 5). It has since become a recognizable national symbol for the Unites States government and country; thus, one can see Uncle Sam in advertisements and popular culture even today, long after it was used in wartime propaganda. In most cases, the word propaganda is used when there are large nationwide operations, or a specific political agenda-setting is taking place. However, the propaganda present in the postcards in this study work on an individual level, rather than on a nationwide level.

In this study, a cultural materialist approach aids in identifying postcards as items which affected women's suffrage movement and worked in changing the political situation. The misogynistic tropes of the anti-suffragette propaganda postcards of 19th century are connected to storytelling and tropes from traditional narratives. These misogynistic tropes will be identified by analysis of the postcards. To conduct the analysis, Critical Discourse Studies and Multimodal Discourse Analysis are utilized. By asking the viewer to envisage a world where women voted, the postcards encouraged story building. James Paul Gee's toolkit for analyzing multimodal texts is used to uncover the intertextual references within the images. The history of women's suffrage and the history of postcards will offer context to the study. Moreover, the cultural phenomenon of sharing and how these small cultural items were used to circulate misogynistic ideas is examined.

1.1. Aim and research questions

Postcards were used as a means of communication during the suffragette era, as the production was inexpensive, and the delivery was quick. The suffragettes started using postcards, among other items, to advocate for their cause, and soon enough, the opposers of the movement answered by producing anti-suffragette postcards. Those opposing women's suffrage used the postcards to create disturbing narratives about what might happen if women were to achieve suffrage. By encouraging story building and using tropes from traditional tales, the misogynistic ideas in the postcards were easily grasped and circulated. The circulation of the anti-suffragette postcards can be compared to how social media posts are disseminated nowadays, and both relate to the larger cultural phenomenon of sharing. The aim of this study is to examine the circulation of cultural ideas along with these material objects (the postcards) and to examine the cultural phenomenon of sharing.

The connected aims of this study are to examine the circulation of cultural ideas with material objects, and to examine the cultural phenomenon of sharing. First, ideas and values implicit in the postcards will be examined, and then the practices of circulating them will be analyzed from three vantage points.

The objective is to answer the following research questions:

1. How do the different misogynistic tropes in the anti-suffragette postcards connect with storytelling and tropes in traditional narratives?
2. How were these ideas circulated in society during the Golden Age of postcards?

The theoretical and methodological framework relies on Cultural Materialism as an approach, as it helps us identify the postcards as objects used to change the political situation. New Historicism is

utilized to uncover the “little histories” of those often ignored in the “grand narratives” of politics. Critical Discourse Studies and Multimodal Discourse Analysis were used to identify the misogynistic tropes most prominent in the selected anti-suffragette postcards. These methods were also used to uncover the intertextual references, and the links between the graphics and the linguistic items of the postcards. Additionally, chapter five on the circulation of ideas will introduce three theories, which all relate to how cultural ideas are shared in society: Imagology, Sticky Concepts and Participatory Culture.

2. Theoretical and methodological frameworks

As this study aims to examine the circulation of cultural ideas alongside material objects, New Historicism and Cultural Materialism offer a theory which focuses on the historical context in which the postcards were circulated. However, these theories are less valuable for examining the postcards themselves. To examine the postcards, Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis are used to analyze the postcards and to identify the misogynistic tropes. The focus of CDS is on language in use, and it is used to examine the discourse relating to ideology, power, and inequality. Additionally, James Paul Gee's toolkit for analyzing multimodal texts is utilized, as analyzing the images and text in relation to each other helps to reveal the intertextuality of the images and to recognize the misogynistic tropes. The tropes related to those found in traditional tales, and so the discussion also draws on researchers associated with the study of folklore and fairy tales, like Marina Warner.

2.1. New Historicism and Cultural Materialism

New Historicism and Cultural Materialism are theoretical paradigms which aim to shift the focus from criticizing a literary text or other cultural artefact to focusing on the historical context in which it was created (Parvini, 238). Postcards were small items used in great numbers to both promote and demote women's right to suffrage in both the United States and the United Kingdom. How and why these postcards were created and circulated discloses information about the society and the ideologies pertaining to women's suffrage prevalent during the suffragette era.

New Historicism emerged in the 1960s during a period of social upheaval, especially in relation to race, with social rights activists such as Martin Luther King leading the American civil rights movement. Further upheaval was caused by the "sexual revolution" and later, from 1969 onwards, the Stonewall riots, where the LGTB community demanded that sexual orientation to be liberated from the hegemony of heterosexuality. Additionally, New Historicism has its roots in the field of history, with Hayden White noticing that history is written in a similar way to literature (21). White explains that the narrative structure used to write history creates "grand narratives" at the expense of "little narratives" (White, 21-22). For example, the grand narratives of the 1960s appear above when "Martin Luther King" and "Stonewall" are used as shorthand for describing movements involving thousands of people. The little narratives of individuals walking to work rather than take a bus or of women searched for evidence of sufficient numbers of female clothing are easily lost in such a gesture.

Pertaining to this study, the "grand narratives" of Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters are more familiar than the "little narratives" of women who marched on the streets risking the loss of their jobs and/or families while advocating for the cause of women's suffrage. Moreover, the "little narratives" of women purchasing suffragette themed postcards to showcase on coffee table albums, and therefore motivating women to take part in political discussions over coffee in each other's homes, are a pivotal part of the history of women's suffrage.

The social upheaval pertaining to sexual orientation and White's idea of similarities between writing history and literature played a part in inspiring Michel Foucault to write one of the most important works of New Historicism – *The History of Sexuality*. Prior to this study, sexuality was not widely understood as a cultural phenomenon which had a history. In his work Foucault states that sex has not always been a repressed or a silenced taboo, but that instead, discourse on the subject of sex has increased since the eighteenth century (Stoler, 2). Thus, Foucault studies cultural knowledge relating to sex to understand that particular time. Similarly, the materiality of the gendered body led to the widespread assumption that differences between the sexes were "facts" rather than social practices. Preventing women from voting was built on this supposedly "natural" world order. Paradoxically, a large number of women believed that due to their gender, they were unfit to enter political discussion and so opposed women's suffrage.

Although New Historicism and Cultural Materialism are different approaches, when considering the aim of this study presenting the two approaches in dialogue with each other is beneficial. Both approaches view power relations as the most important context for interpreting a text or other cultural artefact, but whereas New Historicism focuses on the power relations of past societies, Cultural Materialism explores texts and other cultural items – like the anti-suffragette postcards – in the context of contemporary power relations (Brannigan, 9). That is, New Historicism endeavors to uncover the "little histories" of those often ignored in the "grand narratives" of politics. In the context of the women's suffrage movement, the "grand narratives" of the Bills of Parliament and the work of Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters is supplemented with the stories of impoverished women who lost their jobs for attending rallies, and of women talking to their friends in coffee houses. However, Cultural Materialism focuses on the material culture: books, images, songs, and postcards. By examining the way in which these material objects were circulated in society, the ideas and emotions they inspired and the actions they afforded, cultural materialists seek to understand the "how" of history. In the case of the women's suffrage movement, examining the ideas, emotions, and actions implicit in the circulation of anti-suffrage postcards, Cultural Materialism enables us to understand how the countermovement was sustained in middle- and upper-class homes. Addi-

tionally, both theories aim to understand culture, and literature is viewed as not literature per se, but as an item examined for the way it functions within society and reflects the beliefs of cultural and historical moments. This way of viewing cultural artefacts criticizes the structuralist or post-structuralist approaches, which alienate texts and other cultural artefacts from the contexts in which they were experienced and may lead people to feel a lack of connection to the realities of lived lives.

In this study, understanding how the histories of ordinary people interplay through the sharing of small commodities, such as postcards, helps in exploring the spread of feminist or misogynistic ideas in the home and in social culture. Parvini states that it is still important to distinguish these approaches from one another, despite the simultaneity of their development and the constant dialogue between them (238). Therefore, this chapter aims to introduce both approaches separately, while also drawing comparisons between the two theories.

According to Peter Barry, New Historicism was introduced already during the 1970s in the United States, but the term was first coined by Stephen Greenblatt (166). Published during the early 1980s, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* discusses the effects that family, state, and religious institutions have on the autonomy in self-fashioning in the 16th century (Greenblatt, 1). Greenblatt intended to show that Shakespeare's plays were not "universal" – as was suggested by F. R. Leavis in *The Great Tradition* – but rather could be interpreted differently in each era in which they are performed. Additionally, all of the aforementioned social constructions shape identity and impose restrictions on how identity is performed. Thus, identity is molded in conjunction with an individual's cultural environment.

Parvini states that the three most influential works regarding New Historicism are *The Interpretation of Cultures* by Clifford Geertz, *Metahistory* by Hayden White, and *Discipline and Punish* by Michel Foucault (239). All of these works have contributed to establishing the key ideas for new historicist theory (Parvini, 239). Peter Barry defines New Historicism as a method which focuses on "the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period" (166). The ideas of Parvini and Barry relate mostly to literature, but the same ideas can be applied to other cultural artefacts, such as postcards. The postcards are also products of their own time and reflect the time and place of their creation. Additionally, Both Parvini and Barry emphasize linking the historical period of the text to the reading of the text. Therefore, in order to understand the ideologies, spread by the anti-suffragette postcards, one must be able to understand the historical and cultural environment in which the cards were created. The resurfacing of interest in anti-suffrage mate-

rials in the 2020s relates to the centennial and the re-activation of women's rights movements in the United States, as women's rights have been again in the forefront of American politics in the era of Donald Trump's presidency.

Stephen Greenblatt was in the forefront of creating New Historicism, and coined the term itself, as he begun to view texts as products of their era, heavily impacted by the social and cultural surroundings of its creator. Greenblatt sites Geertz, when explaining the impact of symbolic structures on literary symbolism: "There is no such thing as a human nature independent of culture" (3). Furthermore, Geertz states that culture in this instance consists of "a set of control mechanism – plans, recipes, rules, instructions… – for the governing of behavior" (qtd. in Greenblatt, 3). Therefore, New Historicism aids in examining the anti-suffragette postcards as texts impacted by the society the cards were created in. However, according to Parvini, New Historicism has brought new contexts to the study of early modern literature but has also faced criticism (241). For example, feminist Lynda Boose claimed New Historicism to be thoroughly focused on males in power and by doing so erasing female agency (Parvini, 241). According to Boose, even when Greenblatt attempts to begin focusing on Renaissance women and the production of gender in his work *Fiction and Friction*, he erases gender altogether and focuses on biological sex differentiation (730). Additionally, Boose claims that Greenblatt's reading of Shakespeare emphasizes the absence of women in Shakespeare's plays (730). Thus, New Historicism was criticized for continuing the legacy of erasing voices of those who were not male or upper class. As New Historicism is criticized of this erasure of other than upper class white men, Cultural Materialism brings a political component to this study and enables the anti-suffragette postcards to be viewed through a lens of feminist theory. According to Parvini, Cultural Materialism has always been a more political and confrontational in character than New Historicism (243). Also, Cultural Materialism "concerns itself with better understanding the political present as mediated through the past for the sake of changing that present" (Parvini, 243). The political climate of the present day may be seen as a lens which is then used to analyze the past.

The grand narrative of the women's suffrage movement implies that success was inevitable. It is the story of largely middle- and upper-class politics and major actions. However, looking at anti-suffrage postcards disturbs this vision of inevitable victory, as it shows how both men and women were determined to prevent women's suffrage. For instance, Mrs. Humphrey Ward (who preferred to use her married name) is part of the grand narrative of the "anti" side of the story, which she promoted through her fiction, pamphlets as well as her work as the founding President of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League. Ward's part in the story of women's suffrage is far less known

than that of the Emmeline Pankhurst's. New Historicism aids in understanding the different narratives, whereas Cultural Materialism deals with physical materiality, therefore, the postcards as artefacts and cultural objects.

In the United Kingdom, Cultural Materialism was first coined in 1985 by Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, as a subtitle in their work *Political Shakespeare*, an edited collection of essays (Barry, 176). As mentioned before, Cultural Materialism focuses on the material culture: books, images, songs, and postcards. The focus on the seemingly trivial ephemera, such as toys, canned food, washing powders and postcards, opens up a richer understanding of the lived experiences of history. The history of those often overlooked, that is, the blue-collar workers or housewives, who did not have the power to directly influence at the legislative level. Marvin Harris states that the premise to Cultural Materialism is the idea of all human social life being a response to practical problems always in existence in human experiences (15). For instance, the women's rights movement was a movement which grew from a basic need all humans have – to be treated as equals to one another, a shared human experience.

Dollimore and Sinfield define Cultural Materialism through its combined attention to four characteristics: historical context, theoretical method, political commitment, and textual analysis (Barry, 176). Historical context in this instance means taking into accord the historical circumstances the text was produced in and the era in question, and not considering the "timelessness" of said text (Barry, 176). The notion of "timelessness" may be present in the analysis of literary texts, since, for instance, the works of Shakespeare are still familiar in the present day. Thus, Cultural Materialism aims to recover the history of the text in question, which previous analysis might have ignored. The second aspect of Cultural Materialism being defined as a theoretical method derives from the will to break from liberal humanism and gravitating towards structuralism (Barry, 176). That is, Cultural Materialism aims to break from the focus on the individual by stating that culture must be understood as being connected to a broader system. Thirdly, political commitment signifies bringing political influence on the work (Barry, 176). Therefore, Cultural Materialism is fruitful when studying the anti-suffragette postcards since the issue of women's suffrage is undoubtedly political. Also, analyzing the misogyny in the anti-suffragette postcards demands for feminist perspectives and feminism may be considered to be political by nature. Lastly, the textual analysis refers to Cultural Materialism being more than a theory with an aim to move away from the abstract and to practice Cultural Materialism on texts, which are important academically or culturally (Barry, 177). Indisputably, the anti-suffragette postcards are products of a pivotal time in the history of women's suffrage, and in a larger scale, the history of women's rights.

Cultural Materialism as an approach does not include only works from "high culture", such as the works of Shakespeare, but aims to include works and texts from other mediums and cultural forms as well (Barry, 177). Television, popular music, or fiction may sometimes be regarded as having less value in comparison to the works deemed as "high culture". Cultural Materialism starts from material objects and builds the understanding from those ephemeral objects, such as postcards. As the approach focuses on the relevant history of the times the text was created, it also considers the possible reproduction of said work (Barry, 177). Therefore, an anti-suffragette postcard produced during women's suffrage holds in it several different histories; the history at the time the work was created, the history of the person creating the postcard (including their belief systems) and the history before the creation of said postcard. For instance, women playing poker together in a bar in an anti-suffragette postcard informs the viewer of the oddity of such behavior for women during the suffragette era, emphasizes the beliefs of the creator (women should not be allowed in such spaces) and elucidates what kind of social contracts pertaining to women were in place. Barry states that "Cultural Materialism particularly involves using the past to "read" the present, revealing the politics of our own society by what we choose to emphasize or suppress of the past" (178). In this study, the connection between the anti-suffragette postcards to the present day is established by offering various examples of how the misogyny in the anti-suffragette postcards still exists in society. Additionally, the methods of Cultural Materialism require that the affordances of the materials need to be understood, thereby, the way in which the postcards circulated need to be established. How the postcards came to have their affordances and how a postcard with a certain idea "sticks" needs to be also examined.

2.2. Critical Discourse Studies and Multimodal Discourse Analysis

The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies by Flowerdew and Richardson define Critical Discourse Studies (hereafter CDS) as an inter-disciplinary approach that focuses on language in use (2). The approach views language as a form of social practice and using language as the most common form of social behavior. Furthermore, the approach examines the discourse relating to ideology, power, and inequality. According to Flowerdew and Richardson, CDS aim is to study society "through discourse and contextualize (and understand) discourse through an analysis of its historical, socio-political and cultural foundations" (2). Therefore, CDS can be used to look below the surface to see how a text can express contradictory beliefs or underlying messages. Additionally, discourse and language work together since social structures affect discourse and vice versa. For instance, doctors and patients interact in certain ways in a hospital due to the social conventions and power relations they have learned about (Flowerdew and Richardson, 2). Thus, the theory supports

the examination of the postcards from a time of great socio-political change. By examining the postcards with CDS, the underlying fear of women's suffrage that caused the postcards to be created and used so widely can be uncovered.

This approach was selected for this study to uncover the misogynistic tropes that were depicted in the anti-suffrage postcards. However, since the focus of the study is on visual materials, postcards, the approach needed to relate not only to language use but also visual material. Therefore, the additional approach for the study would be Multimodal Discourse Analysis (hereafter MDA). Flowerdew and Richardson sum up MDA as an approach that permits the use of other semiotic sources and does not solely focus on linguistics (62). Whereas CDS focuses primarily on language in use and how it unveils hidden features of language, MDA allows for the studying of visual material as well.

James Paul Gee has generated what he calls "a toolkit" for analyzing multimodal texts which combine words and images (12). These elements communicate in relation to each other and together create a text. Gee's toolkit for discourse analysis is used as the tools used for analyzing language can also be used to analyze multimodal texts (12). Gee emphasizes that the words and image together create a meaning – "what are the words and image together trying to convey that could not have been conveyed by words or images alone?" (190). The tools introduced will be used in the analysis of the anti-suffragette postcards.

The Fill In Tool is used to uncover what the speaker means through understanding the context of the communication sequence (Gee, 12). The physical setting, what has previously been said and done all affect the understanding of the communication (Gee, 12). When discussing the postcards in this study, *The Fill In Tool* will help to understand the historical and cultural meanings that may be hidden in the words and images. For instance, a woman wearing men's clothes in the context of the anti-suffragette postcards might imply that the situation is odd, as gender differences related to clothing were more rigid during the time of women's suffrage. These gender differences still exist as men wearing skirts are viewed similarly today as women wearing trousers were in the suffragette era. This knowledge is culturally specific; the viewer might not consciously understand that the implication of oddness is in the image consciously. Also, a woman wearing men's clothes implies the switch in power roles; the woman is in charge since men were viewed as having more authority. Such expressions as "wearing the trousers" when referring to someone who has authority are still used today. All in all, the postcard might imply that a woman being in men's clothes and thus acquiring the same authority as the man is odd. Gee notes that this tool is called *The Fill In Tool* since

the questions to be answered while using this tool are: “what needs to be filled in here to achieve clarity and what is not being said, but is till assumed to be known or inferable?” (12). In this study, the cultural and historical context behind the postcards and the implications made are pivotal.

The Making Strange Tool helps to uncover the assumptions and stereotypes that are present in the anti-suffrage postcards. Gee suggests that to use this tool, one must act as an outsider and strive to not understand the context: what is being implied? (12). What is in the postcard that is left unsaid and that might make the message unclear or worth questioning? This tool, as well as *The Fill in Tool*, are tools that are used only in analysis. Gee notes that in real life communication, the understanding is mostly unconscious whereas in analysis there is time for reflection (13). This makes the effect of the anti-suffragette postcards powerful as the implications made in the postcards often go uncriticized since the information is obtained unconsciously, if the recipient does not consider the hidden implications the postcard might be conveying.

Another tool for analysis introduced by Gee is the *Why This Way and Not That Way Tool*. Gee explains the tool to be similar to *The Fill In Tool* mentioned previously, but focusing more in the way the communicator has designed the grammar to be as it is; why was the linguistic element designed as it was and not some other way (55)? Therefore, the tool will be useful for analysis of the grammatical items in the postcards. Gee states that the way people speak has consequences in the world and that language is rarely used all alone in the world building process (73). The word choices in the anti-suffragette postcards unveil attitudes and guide the mind of the viewer towards a specific deduction. For instance, using terms such as “a crone” or “a little pet” create meaning that is different from descriptors such as a woman or a girl.

The Identities Building Tool is introduced as a tool which reveals “what socially recognizable identity or identities the speaker is trying to enact or to get other to recognize” (Gee, 110). Additionally, the tool encourages the researcher to ask how the speaker is positioning others and what kind of identities the speaker is “inviting” them to take up (Gee, 110). When discussing the anti-suffragette postcards, *The Identities Building Tool* may aid in understanding the identities that are imposed on both men and women. For example, the positioning as men having a higher status in society may be apparent in the way women are portrayed as seducing men in order to get the vote; men hold a higher position in society and build this identity by portraying women as needing their approval and using their sexuality to get it.

Gee states that images may hold intertextual references and that these references may be about other images, texts, or media (189). The references may also relate to cultural phenomenon or historical

knowledge. In this study, the anti-suffragette postcards hold various intertextual references found in fairytales and traditional narratives. Therefore, CDS and MDA are used to identify the tropes from the images used against the women's suffrage movement. For instance, the depiction of suffragettes as having witchlike features, such as a crooked nose, disheveled hair, and being older women juxtaposes them with evil witches from fairytales. This kind of depictions also connect the suffragettes to a cultural phenomenon, the witch-hunts. Moreover, the references to wartime utility being used to silence women need to be understood in order to fully grasp the intertextual meaning the image is conveying. The intertextual references in the anti-suffragette postcards help the viewer construct the stories implicit in the images by relying on the viewer's knowledge of fairytales, traditional narratives, and historical knowledge.

3. The historical contexts of women's suffrage in the USA and UK

The historical background of women's suffrage and the suffragette movement provides context to how the fight for women's suffrage began and what kind of measures were needed to achieve the right to vote. As the postcards collected for the study are from both the United States and the United Kingdom, the development of the legislation concerning women's suffrage in both countries is outlined. Additionally, the history of postcards and their impact during the era of women's suffrage is recounted. Postcards were an exceptional new method of spreading messages and were used as a political tool, as can be deduced from the anti-suffragette postcards presented in this study. Furthermore, the anti-suffragette postcards feature several misogynistic tropes, which can be traced back to history and the depiction of women in, for instance, fairytales and traditional narratives.

3.1. History of women's suffrage and the suffragette movement

The women's suffrage movements in both the United States and the United Kingdom are closely connected as the two political systems evolved at a mutual pace and influenced one another extensively. The historical reasons for women's suffrage movement in both countries involve, for instance, the notion of land-owning granting a person the right to vote, as their money would be used to then realize various political decisions. The idea of wealthy land-owners having the most influence in society may seem odd to the modern person, but during the time when most of the people were not educated and lacked the same possibilities the wealthier class had, the political sphere was reserved for the wealthy. As the suffrage first pertained to only a certain part of the population, who were wealthy White landowning men, the history of suffrage starts from men's suffrage continuing to women's suffrage. This and the following chapter relies on Kenneth Florey's work regarding the

appearance of postcards as a communication tool during the rise of the suffragettes. Florey discusses the suffrage postcards within the context of the women's suffrage movement and as a part of the history of postcards in his work *American Woman Suffrage Postcards: A Study and Catalog*. His study is the only one available which specifically relates to the phenomenon of sharing suffrage-themed postcards and features over 700 examples of such postcards.

The laws in the United States regarding the right to vote were founded on the laws in the United Kingdom. Thus, criticism towards the laws in the United States had often remarks about the British political system. Chilton Williamson recognizes this criticism as he confirms that the qualifications for the right to vote in the United States were based on "royal instructions" (3). Williamson explains that property tests were used in order to determine a person's right to vote, and that this concept was based on the notion of freeholders (property owners) to be the foundation of society (3). Their hard work was to set an example to other social classes and made them inherently more deserving of rights than the ordinary citizen. Williamson notes that this mindset regarding inheritance is familiar to both colonists and Britons (3). Moreover, the British system did not find a need to change the suffrage qualifications in eighteenth century, since those had been established and were a part of British history (Williamson, 3).The similarities of the political systems was evident since state after state in the United States based their laws on voting to adhere to those of Britain – this meant that the layperson had few opportunities to influence political matters. For instance, Williamson mentions that in 1745, the governor's council of South Carolina justified their decision to limit the right to vote to freeholders on "royal instructions and upon British precedents" (6). The justification for the suffrage laws was visible in the legal systems of both countries – the wealthy White men had the right to make decisions for the lower-class, since they have worked hard for their land and money.

As the industries and cities developed, the suffrage laws pertaining to freeholders started to shift to include trading and the entrepreneurial class (Williamson, 8). The right to vote still belonged to the wealthier class but began to extend to other parts of the population, not only landowners. The ownership of property was one of the few laws pertaining to suffrage that was unified in the whole country, although the different states were able to decide their own limitations for voting (Williamson, 8). Still, the right to vote was essentially reserved for White, landowning men. Williamson explains that in most of the states the limitations pertaining to lawmaking were not consistent and, for instance, some of the states confined the right to vote to males by using the pronoun "he" in their lawmaking, others did not specify the gender of the voter (15). Usually, the restrictions aimed to exclude people who were not old enough to vote, or women, but one restriction which pertained to also men was race. Especially in the United States, the question of race became pivotal. Williamson

mentions “the denial of the vote to free Negroes [*sic*] in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Virginia” (15). Additionally, the discrimination of Catholics in the United Kingdom influenced the political landscape of the United States, and some states denied the suffrage to Catholics altogether (Williamson, 15). The religious element was also present in the anti-suffragette propaganda, as women being able to vote was seen as going against the will of God and that God ordained natural role of women in society (“Anti-Suffrage”). Women and people of color were denied their right to vote, due to political sphere belonging to White wealthy men, and due to these aforementioned justifications related to race and religion.

In 1869, when the 15th Amendment gave Black men the right to vote but still denied the Black women the same right, some of the suffragettes were outraged (Hix). Especially Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth C. Stanton did not agree to supporting Black male suffrage without including women to the legislation (Hix). Additionally, in their eyes, the 15th Amendment secured an element which had robbed women of the right to vote for so long; the rights of men and women were now declared different legally (Hix). Anthony even stated, “I will cut off this right arm of mine before I will ask for the ballot for the Negro [*sic*] and not for the woman” (Dionne). Among White suffragettes, the 15th Amendment created disarray as some spread racist messages such as Black men were not to be held in higher regard than White women. Women’s suffrage associations in the United States produced some postcards that were inherently racist by depicting other groups, such as immigrants and Native Americans, in a negative light (Florey, 21). The common negative stereotypes of the era were harnessed to convince people of the injustice White women faced with not having the same rights in society that, for example, Black men had. When the 15th Amendment passed, White suffragettes were more determined than ever to gain the right to vote while still excluding women of other races from their advocacy (Dionne). Still, Black women kept advocating for women’s suffrage, despite them being continuously excluded from the movement. The history of the suffragette movement shows that the movement was decidedly racist and that the efforts of Black women were what finally granted women’s suffrage to all races.

An English pro-suffragette postcard (Florey, 21)

Some of the pro-suffragette postcards display the racism within the suffragette movement by depicting those who did have the vote, when White women were still denied of it. The postcard above is an English pro-suffragette postcard drawn by Edwyn Lewelyn, depicting derogatory caricatures of a Chinese man, a Black man, and a Jewish man (Florey, 21). In the center of the image is the suffragette denied of voting rights, and while she uses the personal pronoun "I" to refer to herself, the men in the postcard are referred to as "this". This enhances the notion of these men being beneath the woman in society and juxtaposes the men with animals or inanimate objects. By comparing several American and British anti-suffragette postcards, Florey concluded that whereas the British cards could display such racist caricatures, the American pro-suffragette cards focused on depicting those who could not vote rather than those who could, in an attempt to avoid racist controversies (21). Still, in both the United States and United Kingdom, the suffragette movements were focused on achieving suffrage for White women primarily, while often neglecting women of color or women of lower social class in their advocacy. The discrimination of Black people in the suffrage laws of the United States has its roots in the nation's history as a slave nation. The slave owners of the past thought of Black men as their inferior. A servant should not be involved in political matters and would be either way better off with others deciding for them. Thus, Black men were on the same level as women, who were also left out of political decision-making. The question of race is still an issue in the United States, as still in 2021, a major part of the population is met with prejudice in society.

In the United Kingdom, religion was a major factor in forming the suffrage laws. Historically, Catholicism has been a male-dominated religion and, moreover, the inferiority of women is ordained by God (Haskins, l01). Catholicism being a major part of the religious landscape of the United Kingdom, the exclusion of women from the public domain can be linked to an idea of female inferiority often present in patriarchal systems. Williamson notes that "… efficiency, honesty, and harmony in government rested, in the last analysis, upon a salutary degree of homogeneity of interests, opinions, and fundamental loyalties – religious, ethnic, and class" (19). The suffrage legislation of the time relied on a specific section of the population to guarantee the stability of the nation. As the population that had the right to vote were homogenous with similar backgrounds, lifestyles and opinions, the lawmaking was effortless and beneficial for the voters, but unfortunately silenced major parts of the society altogether. In both the United States and the United Kingdom, a homogenous part of the population was granted the right to vote, while excluding historically marginalized populations.

Men are often deemed as the opposing side to the women's suffrage movement; however, numerous women were also opposed to the cause. Sarah Marshall states that the dominant part of those opposing women's suffrage in an organized manner were women (11). These women found women's suffrage to be a threat to women's position at home and to social order. In the United States, first women to officially mobilize against women's suffrage published a petition to the U.S. Congress in 1871 within the editorial pages of *Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine* (Marshall, 20). The women justified their anti-suffrage sentiments by referring to the Holy Scripture, female physical frailty, the well-being of children, marital stability, and social order (Marshall, 20). Several of the opposers also thought that men belong in the public sphere and women in the private sphere (family home) due to their natural characteristics. Catharine Beecher, an author, an educator and one of the women opposing women's suffrage, used political metaphors to assure women of their powerful position at home and that women did not require a right to vote (Marshall, 20). She stated that women had "a more powerful role of chief minister of the family state" (Marshall, 20). Women of high social status believed that their role as "chief ministers" of the "family state" was the natural order of society and this idea was reinforced by placing traditionally feminine features to have more importance in relation to homelife. Therefore, internalized sexism, the idea that men are superior to women, was reinforced by women fighting against having a right to vote for themselves.

Saakvitne and Pearlman (qtd. in Piggot) state that "misogyny is perpetuated not only by men but also by women who reinforce the central male culture of devaluing girls and women through acts of omission and horizontal oppression resulting from internalized misogyny" (15). The demotion of

women and their characteristics is usually linked to misogyny, the hatred men feel towards women, but in a patriarchal society, women can internalize these misogynistic ideas and begin to enforce those themselves subconsciously. According to Spengler (qtd. in Dehlin and Galliher) internalized misogyny consists of two main elements: self-objectification and passive acceptance of gender roles (256). Women who are against the idea of achieving suffrage for themselves seems like a paradox, but as women have internalized the sexist and misogynistic notions and accepted them as truths, the suffragettes were seen as dangerous individuals. In the eyes of the anti-suffragette women, the suffragettes aimed to break the family unit and demote the position of women in it, not empower women by advocating for their civil rights.

As women's suffrage movement became increasingly active, a large number of people opposed it vocally. Groups of women called "remonstrants" were against the cause as well (Palczewski, *The Male Madonna*, 375). Remonstrants believed that the reform was unnecessary, since a woman of good character would be able to influence political sphere by other means than voting and by granting all women the right to vote the suffragettes, "the fallen women", would also get the chance to affect political decision-making, with disastrous results (Palczewski, *The Male Madonna*, 375). Palczewski summarizes that the verbal arguments against women's suffrage was divided to two: firstly, women did not have the physical strength or were too delicate for political sphere, and secondly, the public realm did not fit proper women (*The Male Madonna*, 375). In the anti-suffragette postcards, these "fallen women" are fishing for votes by using their sexuality and thus, proving that they are devoid of "good character".

In the United Kingdom, the head of the anti-suffrage movement was a woman, Mary Augusta Ward ("Anti-suffrage"). Ward compared the women's suffrage movement to terrorist organizations and was adamant in her efforts to stop the movement ("Anti-suffrage"). In the United States, the association against women's suffrage was also led by a woman, Josephine Dodge ("Anti-suffrage"). This was the result of a society that held men in higher regards intellectually than women, to such extent that there were women who believed it themselves and thought the intellectual inferiority of women to be true. Additionally, women were thought to be too impulsive for politics, the interference of women would "lower the quality of our legislation" as one anti-suffrage pamphlet announced ("Anti-suffrage"). Still, many of the anti-suffragette women did not think that women's position in society should stay the same. On the contrary, they thought that women had an important place in society, and that the difference between women and men was what would empower women and grant them more self-determination ("Anti-suffrage"). Additionally, one of the arguments used to oppose women's suffrage was that women voting was against the will of God and would this disrupt the

functioning of society ("Anti-suffrage"). Gaining the right to vote for women was not important to several women, as it would make women a part of the political sphere, where they did not belong.

The opposers of women's suffrage described the suffragette's cause as "this feminist disease" (Marshall, 3), underlining the notion that women's rights movement was a dangerous fad, which needed to be stopped for the well-being of women and their position in the private sphere. Furthermore, Florey states that several anti-suffragists depicted women's suffrage movement as anti-American, separate from the mainstream and the activists were deemed as "the others" (184). Additionally, Florey states that many of the artists designing postcards were women and that there is a possibility that at least a small portion of the anti-suffragette cards were illustrated by women (279). Admittedly, women who were working for companies producing anti-suffragette materials could probably not refused when asked by their employer to design anti-women materials in the fear of losing their jobs, but due to the large number of women being against women's suffrage, the women designing the cards might have agreed with the anti-suffragette sentiments in the postcards.

In the United Kingdom, the suffragette movement formed when the British Parliament continuously left women out of law-making concerning voting rights (Hix). The forming of a militant group called the Women's Social and Political Union (hereafter WSPU) in 1903 assured that the voices of the British suffragettes were heard (Hix). Soon to be known for their sometimes-violent measures to achieve women's suffrage, six women, including Emmeline Pankhurst and daughter Sylvia fought for women's suffrage for several years (Florey, 7). These years were full of activism, suffering from hunger strikes and organizing public demonstrations, such as chaining themselves to railings. The WSPU became notorious for their sometimes violent measures to achieve suffrage for women. However, the declaration of World War I stopped the actions of both pro- and anti-suffrage groups as women were now working in the jobs that were left after men went out to war ("Anti-suffrage"). This activation of women also aided women's suffrage, since women were able to justify their participation in the functioning of society.

Advocating for women's suffrage was considered to be on the verge of unpatriotic during the war, and this caused for a decline in any suffragist activity (Florey, 6). Women were needed in supporting the war and their focus on women's suffrage was viewed as non-essential during a time when the nation should come together and fight a common enemy. Still, Alice Paul and her "Silent Sentinels" paraded outside the White House from January 1917 until the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was finally passed (Florey, 6). The "Silent Sentinels" were protesters, part of the National Woman's Party (NWP), consisting of activists of NWP's delegations from almost every state

in the United States (Southard, 400). After a discouraging meeting with President Woodrow Wilson, the dispirited members of the NWP planned their next move, and Harriot Stanton Blatch planned for them stand silently at the gates of the White House, and demand justice for women by raising banners with messages to the president (Southard, 400). Their banners asked, "MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE?" and "MR PRESIDENT, HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY?" (Southard, 400). About 12-15 protesters stood day by day in a silent protest, a militant approach strategy, which the NWP was not afraid to use for the sake of women's suffrage (Southard, 400). Despite receiving criticism about their unpatriotic activities, the NWP published cards about the demonstration at the White House, at a time when other suffrage organizations saw it best to seize the advocations for women's suffrage for the most part (Florey, 6). Women were an integral part of keeping society functional when men were drafted for the army: they worked in ammunition factories, took on farming, entered the transport industry in increasing numbers, and took on other tasks normally deemed men's work. Women's efforts in the home front made it possible for men to do their duties in the battlefield, while still having a home to come back to. Yet, women were deemed unpatriotic for trying to gain their civil rights, the right to vote, during wartime.

Even though the anti-suffragette movements in both countries gathered supporters, they had no hope of opposing the suffragettes effectively. The anti-suffrage movement had seen its best days, as the ideas inside the movement started to diverge and the more progressive thinkers started to deviate from the conservatives. The suffragettes invented new ways of ridiculing the anti-suffragette movement with, for instance, directing plays which mocked the antis ("Anti-Suffrage"). Women's suffrage was achieved after a tedious battle led by the civil rights movement and the United States granted women the right to vote in 1920. The 19th Amendment, which denied discrimination on the account of sex, was passed after nearly 80 years of struggles from the suffragettes and their supporters ("All Amendments to the United States Constitution"). However, full suffrage for Black women was achieved 45 years later as the Voting Rights Act of 1965 passed, prohibiting racial discrimination (Dionne). In the United Kingdom, it was not until the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act in 1928 that suffrage was achieved for both men and women (Johnston, 59). This achievement was made with the efforts of the suffragettes, who are still held as an example of how civil rights movements can create reform in society.

Describing the starting point for women's suffrage and the history behind the suffragette movement aids in understanding the society of the time. Making women part of the political sphere was unprecedented and was perceived as a threat to the status quo. The fear of women gaining the same

civil rights that were historically enjoyed by solely White wealthy men increased as the suffragettes became more vocal. This fear grew to the extent that people opposing women's suffrage established anti-suffragette groups, organized protests against women's suffrage, and produced anti-suffragette propaganda postcards.

3.2. History of postcards

The Golden Age of postcards can be narrowed down to the years 1893-1918, and during those years their social impact can be paralleled to the power that the Internet has today (Nicholson, 196). Postcards were used similar to text messages since the cost was low and postal deliveries were made multiple times a day. This allowed for the layperson to send messaged to families and friends, advertising could be done vie postcards, and political messages could be spread easily. Furthermore, Palczewski explains that postcards were circulated more widely than any magazine, were not dependent on the receiver's literary skills, and did not allow for the receiver to select for themselves which postcard they would like to view, as one could not control which postcard they would receive (*The Male Madonna*, 384). This made the impact of the postcard even greater, as the recipient would be compelled to see and own the card, even for a short period of time. Political postcards served an important purpose in societal influencing and were used extensively during the suffragette era.

Postcards first emerged during the late 19th century when national postal system started to develop their production and delivery methods ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). The idea for distributing postcards originates from Europe, as Austria was the first country to launch "correspondez karte" with a paid postage, showing the rest of Europe a whole new way of communication affordable to almost anyone ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). In the United Kingdom, in total seventy-five million postcards were sent in 1870, on the starting year of the postcard industry in the region (Cure). The next step in the growing trend of sending postcards was the system's spread to the United States. The first official "postal card" was produced by John P. Carlton in 1861, but he sold his rights to the invention to H. L. Lipman ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). At the postcard system's launch in 1873 they were sold only to be send inside the country's borders, however, already in 1875, the International Postal Treaty was established, and postcards could be sent free to anywhere the system permitted ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). The popularity of postcards increased as a new development made the cards easier to send and receive. In 1898, the Rural Free Delivery system was established and now also homes in towns with less than 10,000 or more residents were in the realm of free home deliveries (Florey, 5). This new development encouraged residents of rural areas to send more mail, as they did not have to travel far in order to send or receive

mail (Florey, 5). Postcards could now be sent and received more effortlessly than before and the cost for sending a card was very low. Approximately 4,500 postcards were produced relating to the theme of suffrage in the United States (Tickner, 51-52). These postcards were used in the advocacy for and against women's suffrage. This new innovation would revolutionize intercommunication between people and soon become the most effective communication method of the era.

The original non-pictorial cards had blank fronts for the sender's message with the back of the card reserved for the address line and stamp box ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). In 1907, the United States Postal Service gave permission to change the design of a postcard – now the backs of the cards could be divided into two parts, with a space for a message on one half and address on the other ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). This new division allowed for people to add personalized messages to the cards, and for the suffragettes it was now possible to add information about a demonstration or other activities on the back of the card.

As the popularity of postcards grew, people demanded higher quality designs, and so the manufacturing methods developed to meet these demands. In the late 1890s, the Detroit Photographic Company was established by entrepreneur Heinrich Wild ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). The company's aim was to make Photochrom prints popular and bring this printing method to the postcard industry. This process of producing colorized images utilizes four etched stones, each in different color: red, yellow, blue, and black ink ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). However, by the 1910's Photochroms were replaced by offset lithography, which was brought to the market by Teich and Co, established by German immigrant Curt Teich ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). This production method used machines to print from durable zinc plates ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). These developments of new techniques for the colorization of postcards, the new possibilities for bigger more detailed designs, as well as photos becoming possible to be printed on the postcards established their position as a widespread and effective communication method.

The postcard industry grew rapidly and so did the photography industry. Real Photo Postcards (RPC) were developed by Eastman Kodak, who brought photo paper printed postcards to the market in 1902 ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). Eastman Kodak introduced a new method of using offset-lithography plates that utilized a new color system ("Antique and Vintage Postcards"). The circulation of different images was revolutionized by the invention of photography. At the same time that photography was gaining in popularity, lynchings were also recurring events in the United States and, between 1882 and 1950, photography was used to record the lynching of 3436 Black people (Twinpalms.com). A photographer would be present at the lynching and an image was taken

of the murder, thereafter, the image would be reproduced as a postcard which could be sold at events as souvenirs (Twinpalms.com). These postcards unveil a piece of the history of postcards as a communication method, which were used to spread attitudes and beliefs in the form of images.

The lynching postcards tell a gruesome story of a part of history of a time when postcard souvenirs could be purchased at the scene of a murder. However, these postcards served a greater purpose than being only mementos of an event: they inform us of the attitudes and norms of the time they were taken. Postcards would later be used in a similar manner during the fight for women's suffrage, as cartoon drawings of women being tortured in various ways would spread in the form of a postcard. For instance, the torture device "scold's bridle" featured in one of the postcards was a real device used in the Middle Ages to humiliate and silence women who were found guilty of excessive gossiping. Admittedly, there is a clear distinction between a drawing and a photograph, and the lynching photographs are glimpses of real lived history, but the anti-suffrage propaganda postcards still visualize what was considered appropriate at a particular time in history and how these ideas spread, as did the Real Photo Postcards of the lynching's in America.

As the postcard industry grew and the production evolved, the purpose of sending postcards changed as well. Simple messages such as "I wish you well" or "congratulations" were still communicated through postcards, but an additional theme emerged: politics. For instance, during the presidential election of 1908 in the United States, postcards were both technologically and artistically at their highest quality and were much involved in the shaping of American political landscape and code of conduct (Monahan, 84). As for the women's suffrage movement, one of the earliest suffrage related postcards in the United States announced a meeting which celebrated the casting of an illegal vote by Mrs. Lucy C. Barber in her hometown Alfred Center, New York (Florey, 4). This kind of meeting announcements were common in the early days of women's suffrage movements, but as the postcard industry and the movements grew, the usage of postcards would increase heavily.

According to Bogdan and Weseloh, women were more active to send postcards and were also more often the ones receiving them (5). Bogdan and Weseloh reviewed approximately six hundred mailed postcards with the intent of finding out the gender of the sender and receiver from the name or title (Mr., Mrs., and so forth) written on the card (5). The study found that women sent three times as many cards as men and received three times more (Bogdan and Weseloh, 5). Furthermore, the cards sent by women to women were almost eight times as frequent as the cards sent by men to men (Bogdan and Weseloh, 5). As women has traditionally been the organizer of the family, whether

that means organizing social gatherings, keeping in touch with the relatives, or communicating most of the matters concerning the family, the results of this study were to be expected. Therefore, in relation to the suffrage era, it would have been a familiar matter for the suffragettes to start using their voice by producing and sending postcards, as they had already been used to sending the cards to friends and family on behalf of their spouses. However, Bogdan and Weseloh argue that the cultural elites and very rich in society were not interested in postcards similarly to the common folks (4). The elite might have visited a postcard shop or even purchased one, but mostly the cards were seen as something "undermining literacy and higher forms of art" (Bogdan and Weseloh, 5). As the postcards grew in popularity, the very privileged in society might have seen the cards as too common for them to use. As many of the suffragettes were of high social status or wealth as they were able to leave the domestic sphere and advocate for women's rights, it is likely that using postcards was an idea, which emerged from the less privileged suffragettes or was a result of the postcard becoming increasingly popular as a communication method during the suffragette era.

Several women's suffrage postcards were not printed in the United States, since many were sent to Germany for final production, as the printers there were known for producing higher quality postcards (Florey, 2). However, as World War I began, the transportation to Germany was disrupted and the publishers had to return to using American printers (Florey, 2). World War I also affected the suffragettes, as several parties involved in pro-suffragette work seized their operation due to the war. Additionally, the suffragette's efforts were deemed unpatriotic in a time of war, causing several suffragettes to stop their advocacy. Producing or collecting postcards would have been of secondary importance during the wartime since the focus and budget of the nation was directed towards political interests and winning the war.

In the United States, the suffrage themed cards were usually either official suffrage postcards or commercially manufactured. Official suffrage cards were either published by a suffrage organization, one of its members, or a private citizen printing cards on their own, but donating a part of the profits to the suffragette cause (Florey, 14). These cards were sold at suffrage stores or headquarters, through catalog sales, in different events, and through publications, such as the *Women's Journal* (Florey, 14). The role of the official cards was to advertise a meeting, gather supporters for an event, promote the organizations, or to provide evidence of an event, for instance, a demonstration (Florey, 14). Florey states that whereas the official cards aimed to reason with the viewer by direct statements and showing the possible positive results women's suffrage would have, the commercial cards did the opposite (14). These commercial cards rarely made statements against the suffragettes,

but by implications and by tapping into gender roles already in existence in society, the cards encouraged the viewer to create a story of what would happen if women achieved suffrage.

Commercial sources published far more suffrage themed cards than the suffragettes and often these cards expressed the artists or publishers' views on what was generally perceived as "common sense", thus, also reflecting the views of the general public (Florey, 213). Whether the views were in reality what the artist or publisher thought about women's suffrage or attempts to sell more cards by producing what the general public might want to buy, is impossible to state in certainty for all of the cards. When considering the anti-suffragette postcards in this study, most of them seem to be commercial cards produced with the intent of damaging women's suffrage movement. However, the cards which intended to advertise products for women are mostly positive, as commercial manufacturer's realized women's purchasing power and started to target their products towards the female consumers (Florey, 221). Surely, there might have been companies where women's rights were advocated in reality, but mostly the advertisement happened after the realization women's suffrage would be achieved. This marketing tactic is similar to the modern-day efforts of companies linking themselves to, for instance, the LGBTQ rights movement without previous efforts to advocate for the movement for the sole purpose of benefitting from selling multicolored products.

Campbell Soup Kid (Florey, 220)

According to Florey, the suffragettes did not advertise their own memorabilia in postcards, but commercial companies did see an opening for marketing when the demands for women's suffrage grew louder (220). These advertisements were often designed to mock the pursue for women's suffrage but was done in a way that would not offend any potential customers, by using children or animals in their advertisement postcards (Florey, 220). For instance, the Campbell Soup Kid, a character used as the mascot of the Campbell's Soup Company, appeared in a postcard advertising the company's products for suffragettes by adding a piece of rhyme to the card (Florey, 220). The postcard above features a rhyme which seemingly advocates for women's suffrage, but "We'll have Campbell's Soup at all our meals" implies that as the suffragettes leave their domestic duties, the family will be eating only soup at every meal. Moreover, the Campbell Soup kid can be juxtaposed to the cherubic character Kewpie, designed to advocate for women's suffrage. Whether the intention behind the postcard was to increase the sale of soup or to influence political decision-making, connecting depictions of children or child-like characters infantilizes the women involved in serious political activities.

Florey notes that publishers often issued postcards with themes in sets and the cards in the series could be highly anticipated items, as those could be sent to someone who owned other cards from the series, or the new addition could be added to the family postcard album (275). Five of the most popular sets of cards with a suffrage theme were published by the Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company; the artist Walter Wellman; the postcard illustrator Bernhardt Wall; the firm of Barton and Spooner; and the T.P. and Company of New York (Florey, 275). There are cards in this study from the Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company, as well as from the firm of Barton and Spooner. The production of sets shows how popular the postcards had become also as collectible items.

The will to achieve women's suffrage developed simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic, thus, it is beneficial to look at how the suffrage postcards came into existence and how the cards were circulating more closely also in the United Kingdom. This study also features a few suffrage themed cards from the United Kingdom. According to Florey, suffragists from both the United States and the United Kingdom were in constant communication with each other, sharing ideas and methods on how to fight for their common cause most effectively (7). Additionally, British activists produced at least twice the amount of suffrage related postcards in comparison to their American sisters (Florey, 7). Therefore, looking at how the British suffragette postcards came to existence also informs us of the history of the American suffragette postcards.

The British suffragettes were far more organized and skillful in merchandizing the women's suffrage movement than their American counterparts (Florey, 7). Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence and her husband Frederick were skilled in sales and were also one of the earliest supporters of the militant organization WSPU (Florey, 7). The Pethick-Lawrence's became joint editors of the union's own newspaper *Votes for Women*, which featured articles, biographies of suffrage figureheads, reports of activities, adds for different suffragette memorabilia, and other information affiliated with the union (Florey, 7). *Votes for Women* also featured advertisements for postcards, and later, Frederick Pethick-Lawrence's established "The Woman's Press" (Florey, 7). According to Mercer, "The Woman's Press" acted as a general propaganda division for the WSPU, producing different kind of suffrage-themed memorabilia, including postcards (298). The postcards were also sold in shops set up by the WSPU, opened in all parts of the country (Florey, 8). The shops were established amidst numerous protests and publicity activities, including militancy such as property damage and destruction from 1905 to 1912 (Mercer, 294). Opening shops for women where they could not only buy memorabilia of WSPU, but to also gather together in an environment where the matters WSPU advocated for could be discussed, created a space for the further commercialization of the women's suffrage movement. The British suffragettes utilized all possible methods and were creative in their advocacy, which in turn informed and helped their sisters in the United States. Especially with the help of a person skilled in sales, the suffragettes were able to turn their cause into a commercialized business, which would not only advocate for their cause, but also bring income to the suffragette organization. This income would then enable for establishing new shops, organize marches, and otherwise fund the suffragette's activities.

Mercer proposes that by bringing a new way of consumption to the political campaigning, the WSPU made sure that every woman could take part in the fight for women's suffrage (294). Women were seen as the consumers in the household, although their role had historically been that of caretakers of home and family, away from the public sphere. Judy Giles states that the housewife-consumer crossed the boundaries of public and domestic, but also blurred the lines between consumption (leisure) and production (work) (qtd. in Mercer, 294). These affordances to their traditional gender roles made it possible for women to venture out to buy WSPU memorabilia, including postcards, and discuss the matters WSPU advocated for. Additionally, these shoppers would buy photo albums for their homes and new postcards for these albums, which brought the political into the private life.

Establishing shops and selling postcards along with other suffrage related material was not only a good marketing strategy for the cause of women's suffrage or good income for the WSPU, but the

shops provided women a safe space to discuss. According to Mercer, street-selling newspapers or other kind of material related to the suffragette cause was sometimes dangerous (300). Shop work was more appealing to most, as street-sellers sometimes faced backlash from the public and were in worst cases abused or had to deal with a constant threat of violence (Mercer, 300). Emmeline Pankhurst, a WSPU figurehead, had first-hand experience of abuse, as she was, among other forms of abuse, pelted with eggs and snowballs and followed by hooligans during 1908 (Mercer, 301). Still, street-selling was not replaced by shops, as the shops acted as gathering places and starting points for street-selling, and other kind of public activities the suffragettes organized (Mercer, 300). The suffragettes had now placed themselves in the public sphere with their demonstrations, street-selling, and campaigning, but also entered the domestic sphere by selling merchandise in the form of newspapers and postcards. The public campaigning was noticed by the general public as well as anti-suffragettes, but the lower profile selling of suffragette memorabilia might have had a bigger impact than the opposers of the movement, or suffragettes themselves, predicted. The emergence of postcards as a new increasingly effective communication method might have been disregarded, as the cards were viewed as small items, which would not hold much power to matters regarding political decision-making.

While reporting the work of its shop staff, the Lewisham branch of the WSPU stated, "members will be pleased to know that our shop is doing splendid propaganda work and business as well" (Mercer, 305). This highlights the way the suffragettes always had an idea of using these memorabilia as propaganda – whether it was done by selling seemingly innocent items such as postcards or marching on the streets, it was a means to an end. Florey states that the majority of extant postcards of the WSPU were unposted (8). Therefore, people bought them for their home albums as souvenirs rather than mailing them to friends or relatives. The suffragettes became heroines of a kind, who would autograph the postcards, making them even more special as the cards then gained the status of being collectible items (Florey, 8). This special status of the cards might have increased the sale of the postcards, as collectors would have presumably wanted to get their hands on an item autographed by, for instance, Emmeline Pankhurst. It might have also increased the visibility of the cards since buying a collector's item often prompts the buyer to show the items to other collectors or, in this case, to friends and family visiting the buyer's home.

Along with the WSPU, the Women's Freedom League and the Suffrage Atelier were organizations of women artists, who made and sold postcards (Florey, 8). One of the examples of pro-suffragette postcards in this study was produced by the Suffrage Atelier. In addition to these, Artists' Suffrage League produced postcards for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS),

which was the United Kingdom's largest suffrage organization (Florey, 8). According to Florey, NUWSS wanted to distinguish themselves from the militant WSPU, and characterized themselves as "law-abiding Suffragists (8). The abundance of different groups producing and selling suffragette postcards emphasizes the importance of the medium during the suffragette era. The postcards were used to bring awareness to the suffragette cause, to gather assets for the organizations to then be used in their campaigning, and to prompt a change in society by creating discussion and, thus, enable societal change.

Postcards were a method unparalleled to any other form of communication at the time of women's suffrage. The cards were easy to manufacture, fast to deliver and provided almost limitless possibilities for graphic design. One card could include pictures, photography, and text with any message the designer wished to convey. In a time of political reform, spreading one's political views effectively is essential. Thus, at the time of women's suffrage, postcards were circulated to spread political views for and against women's suffrage. The anti-suffragette postcards were usually drawn in a comic style and featured tropes from traditional tales. Moreover, the cards asked for the viewer to build a story of what would happen if women were to achieve suffrage. These depictions were typically misogynistic by nature.

4. Storytelling and Tropes from Traditional Tales

Whereas the pro-suffragette postcards were mostly focused on reasoned argument and black-and-white photographs of real women who were part of the suffragette movement, the anti-suffragette cards were predominantly illustrated in comic style drawings with plenty of bright colors. Here Gee's toolkit for analyzing multimodal texts helps to uncover the allusions and the intertextual references within the images. By asking viewers to create the implied "story" behind the image, they force people to engage with what would happen if women voted, thereby forcing the viewer to "invest" in the postcard. Moreover, the postcards draw on easily recognized tropes from traditional stories, assuming that the viewer will recognize them whilst creating their story. The postcard below illustrates the "origin and development of a suffragette" as the text on the card states.

Origin and development of a suffragette ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

This postcard depicts the four stages of suffragettes: the "little pet" at the age of 15, the "little coquette" at 20, the 40-year-old unmarried woman, and finally the suffragette at the age of 50. Gee's *The Fill in Tool* prompts a question: what needs to be filled in here to achieve clarity and what is not being said, but is still assumed to be known or inferable? A striking aspect in this postcard is the transformation between the 20-year-old little coquette and the 40-year-old "not married yet" suffra-

gette. What is implied here is that a woman exists through her relationship with a man and is defined by this relationship. The absence of a husband is implicitly offered as a cause of her desire to become a suffragette. Furthermore, the postcard implies that suffragettes are violent as we see the hand axe in the postcard and the suffragette appears raging mad with bulging eyes and crooked fingers. Thus, suffragettes are deemed aggressive, another trait that is not linked to traditional femininity. The actions of women's suffrage organizations, such as the WSPU, might have prompted such violent depictions of the suffragettes.

The rupture in the middle of the postcard signals some sort of disruption in the natural state of society, as women were not supposed to be involved in politics and were supposed to remain in the private sphere of home. Additionally, Gee's *The Why This Way and Not That Way Tool* is used to inspect the linguistic elements in the postcards. The use of rhyming (pet, yet, coquette, suffragette) is a method to make the lines remain in the mind of the viewer but more importantly, it gives the postcard a feeling of playfulness as rhyming is often associated with children's rhymes. This playfulness does not only minimize the efforts for women's suffrage as child's play but also implies that women were considered as having lower status than men in society and having the same status as children. Additionally, Warner's notion of women being depicted as either good mothers or monsters is implied in this postcard – at 15 the "little pet" is holding a baby in her arms, looking cute, whereas at 50 the unmarried (the sub-text being that she is without children) suffragette is depicted as a crone or a witch.

As illustrated in the postcard above, the anti-suffragette postcards often relied on four recognizable main tropes from traditional narratives in their depictions of the suffragettes. The four main tropes are the maiden, the mother, the temptress, and the crone or witch. These four stages of a suffragette can be recognized from the anti-suffragette postcards, with some of the cards overtly telling this story of maturation and asking the viewer to create a narrative of how a girl becomes a suffragette and, moreover, what it means to become a suffragette. This chapter is arranged so that these main tropes are introduced first, followed by male tropes at the end.

There are altogether 15 anti-suffragette postcards in this study. *The American Journalism, a Journal of Media History,* the section on Women's Suffrage and the Media, provides postcards from multiple sources, mostly from the Catherine H. Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive ("Women's Suffrage and the Media"). All of these postcards are from the aforementioned website, expect for one, which was collected from the Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive's section "1909 Dunston-Weiler Lithograph Company - 12 card series" (Palczewski, "*1909"*). The seven examples of pro-

suffragette postcards in this study were obtained from miscellaneous sources. The postcards were selected using a thematic approach to make it easier to connect the images with tropes found in cultural works and traditional narrative. As all of the data used in the study is in the public domain, it is not subject to an ethics review.

All of the underlying misogynistic tropes in a particular postcard are not necessarily immediately recognizable, but enough so that the message does not need to be overtly stated. Additionally, some of the postcards have multiple misogynistic tropes. For instance, the same postcard can imply that suffragettes took part in political actions out of vanity, the desire to be in the spotlight, and that women abandon their duty as caretakers by leaving their home unattended while pursuing suffrage. The postcards offer insight into how society treated and felt about women during the suffragette era and the misogynistic tropes in the anti-suffragette cards can be connected to traditional tales. Misogyny can be identified in blatant ways in, for instance, the treatment of female politicians in comparison to their male counterparts, or in sub-texts of teaching girls to be compliant and silent while encouraging boys to be assertive and speak their minds.

Misogyny, as defined in the *Encyclopedia of feminist theories*, is the implicit or explicit hatred of women by men (Code, n.p.). Misogyny is rooted in history, from Aristotle's idea of women being unfit for politics due to their irrational nature to Marx's notion of women being dangerous "beings" who are too close to nature (Code, n.p.). Misogyny and sexism are terms which may be used together, as both terms relate to the hateful or fearful relationship men have towards women, but a distinction is made in how the fear/hate relationship manifests. According to the Encyclopedia of feminist theories, misogyny refers to the psychologically based fear or hatred of women, whereas sexism usually manifests in systematic discrimination, or the exclusion of women altogether (Code, n.p.). Misogyny is the term used in this study, as the aim is not to focus solely on the economical or societal reasons for the exclusion of women. The misogynistic discourses in society may become the norm and may be hard to recognize. For instance, infantilizing women by describing them as "girls" is a form of misogynistic discourse.

The misogynistic ideas about women are circulated through multiple different mediums, but the ideas themselves are often not that different. For instance, the repetition of the "crone" as a feared and evil woman is present in children's literature in the form of an evil stepmother or in movies in the form of an evil "boss lady" mistreating her younger female workers. The classic children's tales such as Cinderella or box office hits like The Devil Wears Prada are examples of different media and different target audiences, but both are part of a larger narrative in society, which portrays

women through an often misogynistic lens. The crone is often paired with the temptress, and both are set in contrast with the mother. The maiden and the witch (the one who is punished) represent the start and the finish of the maturation of a woman.

4.1. The Maiden

A trait that is often expected of women is innocence, often in the form of ignorance or childlike obedience. Kokkola notes that the idea of the innocence of childhood is sacred, protected by adults, who are ultimately responsible for this innocence (22). Innocence is a term etymologically rooted in the absence of wrong (lacking guile, artifice, guilt, blame, and moral wrong) rather than the presence of virtue (Kokkola, 22). However, the presence of the aforementioned wrongs do not indicate evil, but knowledge. Innocence is often linked to women as a desirable feature. The most recognized suffragettes in the grand histories of the suffragette movement were of higher social class and, thus, more highly educated than the working-class suffragettes. For instance, the periodical *Votes for Women* (sometimes referred to as the suffragette bible) featured writings with highly figurative language and biblical references, which discloses information about the suffragette's education level (Hartman, 37). Therefore, many suffragettes were educated, "knowing" women and with that knowledge comes a lack of innocence. Thus, this lack of innocence replaced by knowledge renders the suffragettes the "other", not fully women. Women should be innocent and obedient even as they grow older, although the innocence concerns only their mental abilities. This innocence is sexualized by the style their feminine features are depicted in some of the anti-suffrage postcards. Therefore, the mental state between a girl and a woman is unchangeable, but the physical features continue to develop after childhood and the result is a woman that is innocent as a child, too naive to make decisions and be involved in politics but is still mature enough to be depicted as sexual. Additionally, depicting children and babies in the anti-suffrage postcards is effective; the protective and responsible parent (or human) does not allow innocent children to be affected by women's suffrage. The implication is that the children of mothers who vote would effectively be robbed of their childhood innocence.

Whereas the suffragettes used children to show how women's suffrage could bring men and women together, anti-suffragettes emphasized the traditional gender roles by pitting them against each other. For instance, the anti-suffragette postcard depicting a young girl stealing the young boy's trousers shows the public that women's suffrage would take away from men, rather than also benefit them. According to Palczewski, "the conflict over gender roles is always simultaneously about femininity and masculinity" (*The Male Madonna*, 379). By building and reconstructing femininity, one also needs to negotiate the meaning of masculinity, and vice versa. Thus, the anti-suffrage postcards

are not solely anti-women, they also construct discourse around what is it like to be a man, what are the expectations society has built for men. Furthermore, by stealing the boy's trousers the young girl emasculates him, while also suggesting that if the girl steals the boy's trousers, he might have to wear what the girl is wearing – a skirt. The feminization of men is a common theme in the anti-suffragette postcards and is an example of the misogynistic sub-text in the pictures: the worst that can happen to a man is to become a woman.

What a chance ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

The depiction of children in the postcards invites the viewer to create a background story. On the surface, there is nothing in the image above that refers to the suffragette movement. However, if the postcard is viewed within the series of suffragette themed postcards it belongs to, it suggests that the mother has abandoned her children and her daughter is about to continue the process by taking that which is rightfully the young boy's: his trousers. The postcard features a young girl stealing trousers from a young boy sleeping in his bed. The text "what a chance" indicates that the girl is doing something she should not be doing and the look on her face is mischievous and curious. This contradicts her appearance of a "sweet little girl" with ponytails and a dress with ruffles on the sleeves.

Gee's *The Fill in Tool* examines what is *not* being said, but is still assumed to be known or inferable. The sub-text implies that either the girl is taking after her mother (a suffragette) or the girl is suffering from the absence of her mother. Her rebellion takes the form of stealing the boy's trousers. The implication here is that the little girl is stealing the position of a man in society – the trou-

sers represent the right to vote which belongs to the boy. Thus, women are trying to take what is not theirs to have. Additionally, what is implied in the postcard is that giving women the right to vote might start a continuum of events, such as women wanting to wear trousers, which was unusual for the era.

A pro-suffragette postcard (O'Neill, "The Spirit of")

Rose O'Neill's Kewpie postcards responded to the anti-suffragette postcards, which depicted suffragettes as wanting to dominate and feminize men, by picturing innocent children (Florey, 18). In the postcard above, three babies are marching with musical instruments, and a banner which reads, "Votes for Women". The subtext was that women's suffrage would benefit both sexes and was nothing to be afraid of (Florey, 18). Along with O'Neill's Kewpie postcards, Emily Hall Chamberlin drew cherubic characters to tackle the anti-suffragette rhetoric (Florey, 17). However, while responding to the anti-suffragette rhetoric, the suffragettes infantilized women and strengthened ideas of female inferiority in society.

Depictions of children in the anti-suffragette postcards were often designed in a jovial and innocent manner. This apparent innocence of the postcards might have been more effective for the circulation of ideas since the beliefs and values in the cards were hidden behind a mask of lighthearted depictions of homelife. Additionally, the jovial nature of the cards may be an asset since materials for children are often used in an innocent manner to comment on political issues. Tapping into the

core of society, family, is an effective way to evoke feelings and therefore influence political decision-making. Portraying women as first and foremost mothers and blaming suffragettes for abandoning their families was a popular trope used by the opposers of the movement.

4.2. The Mother

What a Woman may be ("Suffrage Atelier")

The postcard above is an example of a pro-suffragette card, depicting the injustice women felt when they were denied of the right to vote, whereas men of lower social status could vote, and were not denied of it even in cases of "lunacy". In this postcard the mother is in the center of "what a woman may be", showing how some suffragettes found motherhood to be an integral part of being a woman. Whereas the suffragettes used motherhood as a means to lift women's social status, the anti-suffragette postcards show how motherhood is depicted as something which bind women to their homes. Motherhood is to be protected as the sacred mission of a woman, and the one who does not succeed in her mission is to be punished or her children will suffer of the consequences of her failure.

The absence of mothers is a common trope in a number of fairytales and other cultural products (for example, jokes). Often, in the beginning of a story the good mother dies and is replaced with an evil mother, a monster (Warner, "From the Beast", 201). The protagonist of the story needs to free themselves from the mother's grip; this often happens as the evil mother is killed. These kinds of stories portray women in a contrary manner as either good mothers or monsters. For instance, the

terror of a witch in the form of an evil godmother is a popular antagonist in fairytales (Warner, "From the Beast", 207). The value of a woman revolves around her ability to be a mother and her character is determined by whether this duty is done well or poorly. Warner states that tales such as Cinderella, Sleeping Beauty and various others have been involved in creating a narrative of natural female malignancy, which is often linked to the idea of maternal love and the duty of being a good mother and wife ("From the Beast", 207). Furthermore, the fathers in various tales have little to no responsibility regarding their offspring and few tales recognize this responsibility at all (Warner, "From the Beast", 207). Essentially, many of the stories feature women whose existence is limited to their abilities to bear and care for children. Warner offers a historical justification for the recurring storyline of absent mothers: death in childbirth was one of the most common causes of female mortality and the orphaned children would be brought up by some other close family member ("From the Beast", 213). Growing up motherless and sometimes brought up by someone who was not suitable for parenthood was not an uncommon phenomenon.

On the left: Mummy's a Suffragette ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

On the right: a pro-suffragette Kewpie postcard (O'Neill, "Do I get")

The postcard on the left features a baby crying with tears streaming down their face, seemingly in distress. The text at the bottom of the page states: mummy's a suffragette. The positioning of the text is an effective way to draw attention to the suffering of the baby. *The Why This Way and Not That Way Tool* by Gee is used to analyze why has the linguistic item been positioned to where it is and what are the implications of its design. In this postcard, the text is meant to be seen after the

crying baby, first evoking empathic feelings towards the baby and then revealing that their mother is a suffragette. The implication is that the baby is distressed because her mother is too busy engaging in political actions to care for her child. The implied narrative being that the natural order of things, the mother staying at home with her children rather than getting involved with political matters, has been disturbed. Both the opposers and advocates of women's suffrage used children in their campaigns. The pro-suffragette postcard featuring a Kewpie baby on the right asks "Do I have your vote?" (O'Neill, "Do I get"). The suffragettes infantilized women on these Kewpie postcards, but still, the baby is smiling happily in the hopes of a brighter future after women achieve suffrage. The viewer of the image creates other miniature narratives according to their own beliefs and attitudes and, therefore, invests in the postcard.

A woman's place is in her home ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

The postcard above portrays a young boy pointing at a young girl wearing a "votes for women" sash, and a Robin Hood costume. The girl's costume paints her as an unreliable renegade as Robin Hood is known for being a legendary outlaw and a trickster. The text at the top of the card states: "A woman's place is in her home". The boy in the postcard points one of his hands to the girl while the other hand is pointed at the floor. The boy points at the floor as he would if he were commanding a pet, his mouth is open as if he is saying the words written on the postcard. Moreover, his hand is directed at some dolls laying on the floor, as if he is commanding the girl to go back to playing with her dolls. This denotes a man demanding a woman to go back to take care of her children and the house, as the message on the upper corner of the postcard states. Also, the boy points at the dolls

on the floor as well as the girl, the dolls being beneath the boy. This could be interpreted as women being beneath men in society. The dolls might also depict neglected children, who are abandoned as their suffragette mothers engage in political actions. The two dolls call for the viewer to create a narrative of what would happen if women achieved suffrage – the boy doll is crying on the floor while the girl doll is comfortable in bed.

Gee's *The Identities Building Tool* asks what kind of positioning is the text trying to have the viewer recognize or enact. Several postcards feature young children in the hopes of evoking empathy towards the children that have been left to be on their own by their parents. However, the implication is not that the parents have left the children but that their mother has. As pointed earlier by Marina Warner, in various fairy tales, fathers rarely have responsibility for their children ("From the Beast", 207). By using children in the postcards, the feelings towards the mothers of these children shift – mothers are made to seem evil and reckless for making their offspring suffer for the sake of women's suffrage. This links back to Warner's theory about women's sole purpose of being a mother in various fairy tales: if a woman is not a good mother, she is evil ("From the Beast", 207). If the mother has abandoned her child, an evil stepmother takes her place. Still, the result is that the child suffers because of the actions of their mother. In addition, using children in propaganda is highly effective, because it resonates with many people so deeply – one would not want their child to suffer and seeing a crying baby evokes empathy for the helpless child. And, perhaps more importantly, it raises questions about the parents who allow this suffering to happen and offers a chance to judge the parents.

A woman's silence is considered an admirable trait, for a woman who is silent is obedient and does not lose her innocence by appearing too knowledgeable. In the anti-suffragette postcards, women are often depicted as first and foremost mothers who are caretakers and essential to the family life. Warner states women being "between a heroic otherworldly vocation on the one hand and the silent mission of motherhood and wifely obedience on the other" ("Signs and Wonders", 63). This idea of the divine mission of women to be the bearers of life and sacred womanhood is contradicted by the expectation of silence. Warner argues that the expectation for girls' proper conduct derives from the Bible, as Adam was made first to symbolize man's superiority over women ("Signs and Wonders", 60). Also, by committing the sin of speaking and tempting Adam to eat the apple, Eve condemned all women to be denied of speech (Warner, "Signs and Wonders", 60). Moreover, a woman who can speak is able to seduce and manipulate men, therefore she should be deprived of speaking. A woman can use her words as well as her body as a weapon against men. The contradiction between the

woman being the core of the family as a mother and the idea of women having dangerous seductive powers are both visible in the anti-suffragette postcards.

4.3. The Temptress

In the nuclear family setting, a woman is a mother and a caretaker. However, often in popular culture, a woman who is not included in the nuclear family, the "other woman", is seen as a threat to the family and the society. Michie describes the other woman as "the mistress, the rival, the sexual threat" (57). In the anti-suffragette postcards, several suffragettes are depicted as using their sexuality to achieve suffrage, as they seduce men and manipulate them to comply with their demands. The other woman is set apart from the moral codes of the society, and her sexuality and selfishness pose a threat to the family. Additionally, the other woman knows her power and uses it to her own benefit without concern for the consequences her actions might have on the homes of the sanctified wife-and-mother. This power renders the sexual woman as the other, for the woman in the family is foremost the mother, who does not own her own sexuality and does not express it in the same way as the other woman does. Also, as long as the mother appears to not have sexual desires, she is part of the nuclear family; if she acts promiscuously, she becomes more like the other woman, and starts to separate from her role as a mother and a wife. When a woman becomes more than what her role is expected to be in the family, she poses a threat to the family system and thus, to man as the head of the family.

Suffragette vote-getting: the easiest way ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

The postcard above demonstrates how the vanity and sexuality of a suffragette is used to manipulate men. The postcard features a woman with a pompous hat, high heels, and a red, figure-hugging dress which has ridden up to expose her ankles. Depicting a woman with exposed ankles carries a sub-text of her promiscuity, as ankles were sexualized body parts. The woman is kissing a seemingly startled man, the text beneath stating, "Suffragette vote-getting the easiest way". Red is used to accentuate the body of the woman and generate a feeling of promiscuity and sexuality. The woman's promiscuity and manipulative behavior evokes anxiety in the man, as he is depicted as being defenseless before the woman who rushes to kiss him. What is implied is that men should feel suspicious towards suffragettes – they are temptresses. For women, the emotions attached to them becoming temptresses are shame and fear. Shame of becoming "the other woman", someone who is an outcast from the family home (and society) and fear of being detached from the safety of home and, ultimately, the protection of a man.

When discussing the matter of who is the narrator in traditional tales and what kind of aspect does that bring to the stories, Warner states:

> More deeply, attributing to women testimony about women's wrongs and wrongdoing gives them added value: men might be expected to find women flighty, rapacious, self-seeking, cruel and lustful, but if women say such things about themselves, then the matter is settled. What some women say against others can be usefully turned against all of them. ("From the Beast", 209)

Numerous women opposed women's suffrage and believed that a woman's place was not in political decision-making. Juxtaposing sanctified mothers with temptresses was an effective method to enforce the idea of two types of woman. The mother is a part of the nuclear family (and therefore, society) whereas the temptress is deemed "the other", who threatens the family.

Election-day ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

"What is a suffragette without a suffering household?" asks the picture on the wall on the anti-suffragette postcard above, suggesting that the word "suffragette" comes from the stem "suffer" not "suffrage". Beneath the picture sits a seemingly irritated man feeding two children, one of them crying and the other, a girl, staring at her mother. As with the earlier examples, the suggestion is that this little girl may grow up to copy her mother. The woman stands in the middle of the room, wearing a similar outfit to the previous example: a pompous hat, high heels, and a bright, red, figure-hugging dress. The color of the dress is emphasized by the green floor. The woman looks aristocratic, and her expression is arrogant, she seems to be paying no attention to her surroundings, her eyes are shut from what is happening around her. Attached to her dress is a paper stating the district she will stand as a candidate for. The text in the bottom corner of the postcard states "Election-day".

Gee's *The Making Strange Tool* helps to analyze what is being left unsaid. The woman in the postcard is depicted as almost overly feminine, her feminine features are accentuated, and the red dress is the focus of the picture. The sub-text is that as election day comes, the woman forgets her "duties" and leaves her family to suffer – as the picture on the wall states. This woman is the "other woman'" she is depicted as being selfish by leaving her home unattended by entering an arena she is not supposed to be entering, politics. Moreover, she expresses her sexuality openly, which deems her "the sexual threat", the other woman. The man is afraid of her taking his place and their roles

being reversed – whereas women are afraid to become her, since being her would mean having the status of the other woman, the mistress, the one excluded from the nuclear family and essentially, society.

Women's suffrage challenged the notion of gender roles in society, since suffragettes wanted to bring women into the political sphere which usually belonged solely to men. Palczewski notes that "woman suffrage advocates challenged the notion that women and the vote were unfit for each other, whether it be that women were unfit to vote, or that the vote would make women unfit to be women" (*The Male Madonna*, 374). Thus, a woman was deemed to choose between two identities, whether to become a "public" woman, involved with politics or remain in the private sphere of home. A public woman at the time would have been considered a prostitute.

Electioneering (Palczewski, "1909")

The text at the bottom of this postcard states "electioneering". A woman in a completely blue, aristocratic dress is handing a dollar bill to an older woman wearing ragged clothes. The woman in blue is undoubtedly a suffragette – in the era of women's suffrage, the women who were able to advocate for their suffrage were mostly wealthy upper-class women. Both women facing the suffragette are wearing ragged clothes and are visibly older, they seem to be of lower social class than the suffragette. The implication here is that suffragettes are using their wealth to manipulate voters and are advocating for women's suffrage out of the need for attention and their own vanity. The suffragette

in the postcard looks indifferent, she does not care about the rights of these lower-class women, but rather wants to elevate her status in society. Furthermore, highlighting female rivalry is an effective way of pitting women against each other as the postcard makes the difference between the lower-class women and the suffragette evident in their clothing, appearance and by the suffragette handing the other women money.

This postcard serves as a look into the future – when women get the right to vote, the political game will change to a game of vanity, rather than wit. The use of sexual manipulation both makes the women appear untrustworthy and cunning, and renders men unable to control themselves, as they are seduced by women and taken advantage of. According to Palczewski, a woman who would defy her role in society as a woman by stepping out to the public sphere would soon become "a fallen woman", "an embittered spinster" or "an unsexed harridan" (*The Male Madonna*, 374). Each of these misogynistic tropes are visible in the anti-suffragette postcards as the role of a woman is tied strictly to the domestic realm, the home, and in several postcards the woman who has stepped out to the public sphere is depicted as a spinster or a harridan of some kind. Thus, women would risk losing their femininity by stepping to the public realm and be deemed a spinster or on the contrary be oversexualized and thus deemed to be a fallen woman.

In the context of the suffragettes, "the other woman" may be also a woman deemed as an old maid or a crone who has not been able to get married and start a family. Wittig states that, "For what makes a woman is a specific social relation to a man, a relation that we have previously called servitude, a relation which implies personal and physical obligations as well as economic obligation…" (226). The notion of a woman existing only through her relationship to a man and operating within those parameters is what is the basis of "the otherness" of the women who are not sanctified by their motherhood.

4.4. The Crone or the Witch

In traditional stories, the crone can sometimes be the elderly wise woman, but in the anti-suffragette postcards, the wisdom of the suffragettes is questioned by depicting them as clownlike hags. In these stories, the suffragette's wisdom is ridiculed along with her cause. The insinuation of several anti-suffragette postcards is that a voting woman would have lost their "looks" or lost their purity (Palczewski, *The Male Madonna*, 377). At the age of forty the woman who is unmarried is already a crone and in the danger of becoming a suffragette. In both of the postcards below, the suffragettes are portrayed as loud, they seem to be assertive and passionate to advocate for their cause.

At the suffragette meetings ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

A woman is giving a speech at a suffragette rally in the postcard above. All the women who appear in the postcard are dressed in colorful clothes, have crooked teeth and red noses. Their appearance resembles traditional depictions of witches, as they have crooked teeth and dark hair. Moreover, the colorful clothes combined with the red nose have the women resemble clowns. The main speaker at the event seems to have abnormally large shoes, which would imply that these women are clowns for advocating for women's suffrage.

Also, all the women appear to be over 50-year-old as they are depicted with glasses and vintage style hats, items often associated with older women. A common trope in anti-suffragette cards was the depiction of suffragettes as older, unmarried woman. Being an unmarried woman was not unusual considering that World War I widowed women, and numerous men who were in a marriageable age were killed on the battlefield. The signs on the walls of the venue state: "Down with man!" and "Husbands for old maids!", which were intended to make women's suffrage sound like a battle against men by bitter crones, who were not able to marry before reaching a certain age. Using terms such as "an old maid" or "a crone" relates the existence of women through their relationship with a man and diminishes their relevance to society as they have not produced children. The text at the bottom of the postcard states "At the suffragette meetings you can hear some plain things – and see them too!". This text relates to the women advocating for "plain things": women's suffrage is something to be disregarded as an irrelevant matter. Moreover, the "plain things" are the women themselves, as "plain" is a synonym for unimpressive and, in this instance, refers to the women being unattractive. Attaching unattractiveness and old age to suffragettes was effective in keeping women who did not want to be attached to such features away from the movement. In the postcard above,

the suffragette's wisdom is still being valued as she is listened to by other suffragettes. However, sometimes the suffragettes were depicted in the postcards as being punished for their wisdom.

In several anti-suffragette postcards, the suffragettes are depicted as having witchlike features, such as crooked fingers, and having facial features typical from the children's book portrayals of witches. Depicting the women as witchlike emphasizes the idea of them being the "other", separate from society. The stories of witch burnings are still repeated in society and the claim that naturally red-haired women with green eyes are witches, who were to be burned at the stake, was a common belief during the medieval times. These stories stem from The Malleus Maleficarum, which is a documentation of the beliefs about witches and how to identify them, created by a Catholic priest in 1487 (Broedel, 3). Additionally, witches were prosecuted and burned at the stake, and the depictions of suffragettes as resembling witches implies them deserving of the same fate.

These depictions of violence against the suffragettes showcase how violence against women is normalized in society. Admittedly, the postcards were designed to shock the viewer and create fear in the suffragettes, but the circulation of violent imagery to be shared with friends and family emphasizes how widely normalized violence against women was. Also, the comic style of the postcards makes the violence "funny", whereas seeing these depictions of the suffragettes being tortured in photographs would evoke different reactions.

What I would do with the suffragists. ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

The postcard above features a woman who is tied to a chair from her hands with a 56-pound weight cuffed to her ankles. A suffragette has a version of a torture device called “the head crusher” on her head. The head crusher was an extremely violent and cruel device used to torture the wearer by the torturer slowly turning the screws pressing against the two boards attached to the victim’s head (“The Head Crusher”). This torture device was commonly used during the Spanish Inquisition. In 1478, an inquisition was started by the Catholic Monarch in order to purify Catholicism in their territories, identify heretics and to condemn them (“The Spanish Inquisition”). The text “56 lbs” on the weight cuffed to the woman’s ankle signifies the weight of the object and informs the viewer of the imprisonment of the suffragette. Additionally, women suspected of witchcraft were dunked with weights and they proved their innocence by dying.

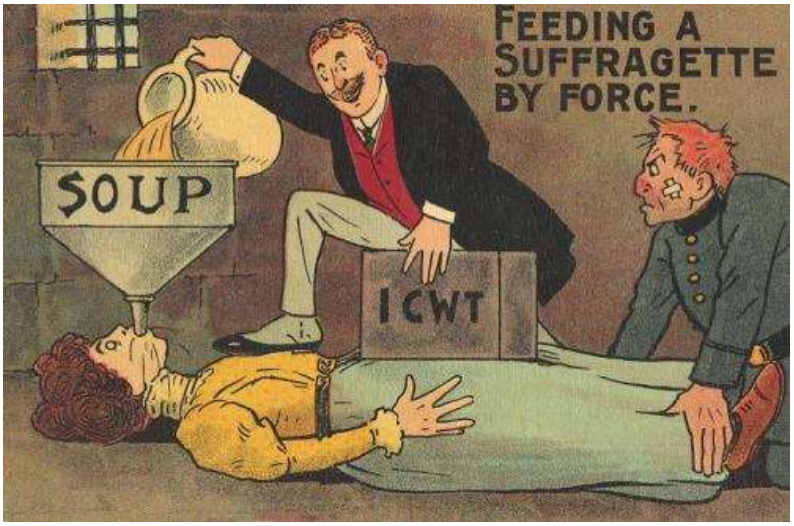
Peace at last (“Women’s Suffrage and the Media”)

This postcard features a woman’s head, with her lips clamped shut with a padlock. The padlock is meant to keep the woman’s mouth shut, but the device in her head serves another purpose, and meaning. The device is called a “scold’s bridle” (sometimes referred to as witch’s bridle); it was a punishment device used in the Middle Ages to publicly humiliate women who were found guilty of excessive gossiping, the woman’s husband usually taught her obedience by using this device (Wayne, 159). The device would be wrapped around a woman’s face, then a small piece of iron pressing on her tongue would be placed in the woman’s mouth, which would render it impossible for the woman to speak (Wayne, 159). Good manners for a married woman included being obedient and silent, so the woman wearing a scold’s bridle had broken these rules and was to be punished for

it. Additionally, the headgear used to control a horse is called a bridle, which in this postcard renders the woman to the status of an animal; she is to be silenced and controlled. The origin of the scold's bridle is in Christian religion, where atonement for one's sins was achieved by physical punishment. Moreover, according to Warner, the virtue of Prudence is sometimes depicted as wearing a padlock on her mouth ("Signs and Wonders", 61). This is not the only tale where a padlock is used to silence women: in the 16th century tale of the Wise man and the Wise woman, the woman is portrayed as wearing a padlock to seal her lips and prevent her from speaking (Warner, "Signs and Wonders", 61). Using a torture device to silence a woman is a common trope in fairytales, but in real lived history similar devices have been used when controlling slaves for hundreds of years.

The text at the upper corner of the postcard, "Peace at last" emphasizes the message of the postcard – women need to be silenced so that peace can be restored. This peace may refer to the woman's nagging or in a broader context, the peace in society when women accept their role as housewives and caretakers. The term "scold" was a derogatory term applied to a woman who was found nagging or otherwise causing havoc (Wayne, 159). The other name used of the device "witch's bridle" also connects to the hair of the woman, which is red. In medieval times, women were accused of not fitting to the role of the compliant medieval woman and slaughtered by witch burning, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of women (Campbell, 71). The witch burnings of medieval times relate to the traditional narratives still prevalent in depictions of women and girls, where abuse and violence are linked to their stories.

In British anti-suffragette postcards, the torture and violence suffragettes had to endure was depicted in a comic light, especially in connection to their imprisonment and the hunger strikes the suffragettes started while imprisoned (Florey, 213). The British suffragettes had crossed the line of acceptable behavior for women by using violence in their campaigning for women's suffrage. For instance, the WSPU was largely affiliated with violence and property damage in the United Kingdom. This, in turn, opened a window for "justifiable" violence towards the suffragettes.



Feeding a Suffragette by Force ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

A suffragette is held down by two men, another holding her feet and another force feeding her soup through a funnel. The man force feeding the suffragette is also holding a weight on the woman's stomach. The text on the weight is the standard hundred weight unit (1 CWT or 45.36 kg), but it can easily be read as ICWT: the abbreviation for the International Council of Women, which was the first international women's rights association, and moreover, to the reports of suffragette legal transactions given in meetings held by the suffragettes (Rupp, 301). Thus, the legal actions are literally holding the suffragette down as she is force fed. Miller states that "implications that the suffragettes were being treated in a similar way as the animal were central to these representations" while discussing the treatment of suffragettes as they resisted their captivation by starting hunger strikes (366). The depiction of force feeding in the anti-suffragette postcards creates fear and serves as a warning for other suffragettes. Miller further describes that force feeding was void of any medical value or traditional doctor-patient relationship, and the suffragettes who were force fed suffered permanent injuries, not to mention emotional damage due to the cruelty (367). The suffragettes were assertive, loud and sometimes resorted to violent measures in their attempts to achieve suffrage for women, and these attempts were to be stopped, even if it meant silencing women by measures as dire as torture and incarceration.

The men holding down the suffragette are different in appearance, as the man force feeding the woman is wearing clothes that signal wealth: a suit and polished shoes, whereas the man holding the woman's feet is apparently a police officer. Both men are involved in the torture of the suffragette, but the difference in their outfits portrays how woman's suffrage was infuriating politicians as well as commoners, since the threat the women posed was not only to the political sphere, but also to the society and family values. These two men are demonized in the postcard as they are torturing

a woman, but the comic style of the card attempts to make light of the situation. Violence against women was normalized through these misogynistic depictions of tortured suffragettes.

The most dangerous form of misogyny resides in the attitudes, ideas, and environments where women face hostility. A woman is tied to a strict gender role, as a caretaker or a mother, and her value is tied to her marital status with a man. The woman inside the nuclear family is protected by her status as a wife and a mother, but when a woman becomes an individual, her protection is no more. Thus, violence may be used against her and the violence against women is normalized in a patriarchal society. Furthermore, misogyny and violence against women are strongly related, since violence often relates to power relations in society.

4.5. The Men

In fairytales, men are often portrayed as either heroes or bogeymen. In the anti-suffragette post-cards, the men are depicted as underdogs, who have been left to take care of the family home and children by their suffragette wives. This is a new position for men to be in and, thus, depicting the new position after women's suffrage is achieved evokes fear and anxiety in men. Therefore, the anti-suffragette postcards carry not only misogynistic depictions of women, but also show what kind of fears men had towards the idea of women achieving suffrage.

The term "patriarchy" emphasizes the role of the father in a family and the role of a man in society. Michie notes that patriarchy relates to fatherhood and sets the family as the place where women's oppression happens and perhaps even starts (55). The term stems from the Venetian system of the patriarchal oligarchy which denied women from having political rights and consigned them to the privacy of their homes (Dornsife). In relation to the suffragettes, the women were not only acting out from their own role as mothers and wives, but they were also questioning the place of men in society and, ultimately, a man's place as the head of the nuclear family.

I want to vote, but… ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

The postcard above depicts a man doing laundry while a baby drinking milk sits close to him. The man looks straight to the viewer as if to draw attention to what he is doing. He is wearing an apron which resembles a skirt, implying that he is doing something a person wearing a skirt, a woman, should be doing. A text at the bottom of the postcard states, "I want to vote but my wife won't let me", suggesting that the man has to do the laundry instead of the woman and, moreover, the woman has replaced the man, as she is now able to vote and denies the man his right to vote. The gender roles of have been switched as the man is now in charge of domestic duties and the woman is in public, voting. A note on the wall states "everybody works but mother: she's a suffragette". This implies that suffragettes were seen as avoiding their actual duties of taking care of the family home and children.

As for the gender role of a man, the anti-suffragette postcards suggest a feminization of men (Palczewski, *The Male Madonna*, 378). The idea that women are unsexed (or oversexed) by achieving the right to vote is juxtaposed by the notion that a voting woman would feminize the right to vote, and by doing do, feminize the man (Palczewski, *The Male Madonna*, 378). Thus, the postcards not only oppose women's suffrage, but also creates the ideas of "a man" and "a woman" in society.

Miss Inez Milholland (Palczewski, “Leet”)

Postcards advocating for women’s suffrage usually contained real photographs of women marching for their rights accompanied with verbal messages or quotations in support of the cause (Palczewski, *The Male Madonna*, 366). The card above is an example of a pro-suffragette postcard (Palczewski, “Leet*”*). The postcard features Inez Milholland, who was deemed “the most beautiful suffragette” by the Washington Post during a 1913 parade (Palczewski, “Leet”). Milholland rode a white horse, clad in white robes in a parade called “the first national suffrage spectacle” in the United States (Palczewski, “Leet”). Milholland was meant to prove that not all suffragettes were old crones, and she led the parade of approximately five thousand women (Palczewski, “Leet”). Postcards advocating for women’s suffrage were usually realistic photographs whereas anti-suffragette postcards were often drawn in a cartoon style. Pro-suffragette cards were designed to raise awareness on the subject of women’s suffrage while also showing the large number of people advocating for the cause. Suffragettes understood the power an image of a large crowd cheering for the suffragette parade could have when circulated in society.

The women’s suffrage movement and the suffragettes brought the already existing misogynistic ideas to the center of social discussions. By tapping into deep-rooted ideas of gender, religion, sexuality, nationality, and citizenship, the anti-suffragette postcards aimed to convince the viewer of

the total reconstruction of the traditional values that held together the home, while also dismantling the whole society. The narrative implied in these anti-suffragette postcards is that suffrage for women would be detrimental to every woman. Using storytelling and easily recognizable tropes from traditional tales invites the viewer to create a story of what happened before and what will happen after the scene depicted in a postcard.

The four main types of misogynistic tropes can be recognized from the anti-suffragette postcards: the maiden, the mother, the temptress, and the crone or witch. These tropes were evoked in ways intended to promote feelings of shame, disgust, and fear in women as well as men. The most prominent trope for men was that they would be lose their status as head of the family and ultimately, in society, if women achieved suffrage. Moreover, men were emasculated in the anti-suffragette cards, which evoked fear of being replaced by women or that they would become women. Anti-suffragette postcards were circulated in society as an effort to counter women's suffrage movement and prevent women from achieving suffrage. However, the cards simultaneously repeated and enforced misogynistic ideas. The next chapter focuses on the cultural phenomenon of sharing.

5. Circulating ideas

In the previous chapter, we saw how the postcards encourage story building to envisage a world where women vote. These stories circulated in society in the form of postcards, which were used as a communication method between friends and family, as well as collected and displayed in coffee table albums. These postcard albums were often intended to showcase collections of cards and which guests could casually flick through. Therefore, the conversations sparked by the political postcards brought politics into the home, to be discussed between friends and family over a cup of coffee. Both the suffragettes and anti-suffragettes saw value in these discussions: by bringing the political issues into the home, the issues could be felt and shared on a more personal level by the viewers of the cards, which then might affect their stance towards the issue. Additionally, a stranger knocking on one's door to inform people about women's suffrage may be less persuasive than making these connections alone by looking at a postcard on the matter or discussing it with family members. The cultural materialist approach in the thesis helps us identify these objects as doing significant work in changing the political situation, and the previous chapter focused on the work involved in interpreting the images.

The affordances of the anti-suffragette postcards created possibilities for different affects and emotions to arise within the person viewing the card. When emotions are attached to a certain subject or ideas, the emotions and ideas become intertwined. Sara Ahmed describes attachment of emotions to circulating ideas in terms of "stickiness", which is expanded on more fully below. The main point is that the circulation of cultural materials, such as postcards, also involves the circulation of values, beliefs and, above all, emotions. The anti-suffragette postcards were meant to counter the suffragette's efforts to achieve voting rights for women, but while doing so, the cards simultaneously repeated and enforced misogynistic ideas. As there is no exact information available for how many anti-suffragette postcards were sold and received, this chapter examines the circulation from three perspectives: Imagology, Sticky Concepts, and Participatory Culture. By doing so, the goal is to move beyond the individual cards to looking at the cultural phenomenon of sharing.

5.1. Imagology

The awakening (Mayer)

Beller and Leerssen define Imagology as "the study of the origin and function of characteristics of other countries and peoples, as expressed textually, particularly in the way in which they are presented in works of literature, plays, poems, travel books and essays" (7). Therefore, Imagology works to create a fixed ideal, highlighting the elements of a nation both visually (through specific aspects of the landscape) and through national character (for instance, the hard-working Finn). Additionally, Beller and Leerssen define the concept of image as not only a picture or a photograph, as it may be perceived by the average person, but rather a collection of meanings that gives the viewer a chance to make their own impressions (4). Thus, an image can have various interpretations depending on the individual viewing the image. This tool is useful for looking at those images where there is little or no narrative element. For instance, the images of famous suffragettes present an ideal – but real – woman. In the anti-suffragette cards, images such as the crying child need an explanation.

As per Belleer and Leerssen's definition of Imagology goes, it mainly concerns countries and people, in terms of nationhood and the cultural ideas of distinct people. For instance, the postcard above depicts a torch-bearing woman (Lady Liberty) striding across the United States from western states where women had achieved suffrage towards eastern states where women did not yet have the right to vote. However, this study does not benefit from identifying the national identity of the postcards and, as such, Imagology is not relevant to the study. It has been established that the postcards

were circulated in both the United Stated and the United Kingdom, since the women's rights movements were re-activating at a similar pace and postcards gained in popularity. The shared language also related to the similarities in legislation and culture. Furthermore, the laws preventing women from voting had been established prior American independence, so the arguments against women's suffrage were similar on both sides of the Atlantic. The rhetoric about women's roles in society was the same, with perhaps one distinction being that for American women gaining the right to vote would mean going against the will of God and their God-given purpose to bear children and care for their families at home. Identifying the national identity of these materials does not serve much to the argument of the study.

Imagology is traditionally used as a method for literary analysis; however, as shown in the previous chapter, the postcards have affordances which allow them to be understood as narratives. By asking the viewer to create the story implied by the image, they are forced to engage with the implications of what would happen if women would achieve suffrage. For instance, by depicting crying babies accompanied with a text "mummy's a Suffragette" the viewer engages with the narrative that is implied: women's suffrage would make women less focused on family life, which would be detrimental to their children. The viewer has now "invested" in the postcard. The postcards prompt the viewer to create the story in their head: what happened before the postcard and what will happen after? The crying baby has been in the presence of their suffragette mother, who no longer takes care of them after joining the cause. Additionally, they engage with the possible consequences of what would it mean if women were to achieve the right to vote. The anti-suffragette postcards require more engagement, more mental work, more time, and thus, more investment than, for instance, a postcard with a landscape.

The value of Imagology for this study lies in the method, not the findings of the theory. This study aims to understand the circulation of the misogynistic ideas in the anti-suffragette postcards, and by asking questions such as: Who is seeing? Who or what is being seen? Imagology aids in exposing how the materials reflect society. The question "Who is seeing?" is often asked in relation to the situation in the literary text first. In relation to the postcards, each of them creates a miniature or implied narrative and the viewers are invited to create this narrative by imagining the scene of the postcards, and more importantly, to imagine what happened before and what happens after the scene depicted. "Who or what is being seen?" relates to the narrative perspective of the characters within the image as well as to the position in which the viewer is placed. However, this is where the Imagology stops being useful for the study. As the postcards were circulated in the form of coffee table albums, how these images were circulated through the sales, distribution, and practice of shar-

ing the postcards with friends and relatives at one's own coffee table have been discussed. A coffee table book which is shown to family and friends personalizes the ideology within the postcards as they can now be associated with the family in question. Furthermore, the postcards evoke emotional responses whether the viewer of the card agrees or disagrees with the postcard's implications.

5.2. Sticky Concepts: evoking emotions

The women's suffrage movement evoked strong opinions in supporters and opponents alike. Both sides of the battle produced postcards in order to impact how society viewed the matter. The opposition produced anti-suffragette postcards, which show how strong the emotional response towards women's fight for suffrage was. Moreover, these cards do not only show disdain and anger towards women, but they also illustrate the feelings of worry and fear experienced by the opposing side. Emotions themselves are a form of cultural capital (Ahmed, 120). As emotions circulate, they create in-groups and out-groups, thereby doing political work. The emotions circulated by the anti-suffragette postcards increased the division between the supporters and opponents of women's suffrage. These postcards afford certain emotions (for instance, hate or worry) and act as a form of cultural capital. Furthermore, Ahmed argues that emotions are a pivotal factor in the "surfacing" of individual and collective bodies as a way where emotions circulate between bodies and signs (118). Pertaining to the postcards circulated during the suffragette era, the cards literally "surface" in different homes, in the living rooms and coffee table books, creating a network of conversations.

Ahmed offers an example of White Aryans fearing immigrants as they pose a threat to everything the Aryans' value (118). In Ahmed's example the subject (white nationalist or the average white man) is presented at an Aryan Nations Web site as someone endangered by immigrants (117). Immigrants take away jobs, security, and wealth, but also replace white men (Ahmed, 117). The narrative suggests that Aryans are the victims, who work out of love for their nation and for their peers against those deemed strangers (Ahmed, 118). Therefore, by attaching negative associations to the strangers, the Aryans gain positive associations in the eyes of those who are threatened, by offering a solution to the threat and by sharing a common signifier of "Whiteness". The immigrants embody fear, this fear is then responded to with hate. Hate is juxtaposed with love, which then juxtaposes immigrants (as embodying hate) with Aryans (embodying love).

Different histories "stick" and, according to Ahmed, do not need to be communicated (128). For instance, the historical meanings attached to the gender woman also enforced the effects of the postcards, as men have been historically viewed as the default gender. Therefore, demoting a man to the same position a woman is socially, or replacing men with women altogether, are some mean-

ings attached to depictions of women and men in the anti-suffragette postcards. These misogynistic attitudes reflected in the cards have historical origins, which have persisted from one generation to another. Thus, the postcards add to the "stickiness" of the narrative of women's inferiority to men and enforce the notion that gender role for women is firmly attached to the private sphere and domestic duties. Moreover, the postcards create associations, and these associations then can become "sticky". For instance, in the previous chapter the postcard "What is a suffragette without a suffering household?", suggested that "suffer" was the root of the word suffragette, rather than "suffrage". Therefore, the word "suffragette" itself might hold different meanings to people. Nowadays suffragettes are commonly understood as women's rights activists of their time, but during the 19th century, the word suffragette held multiple meanings, such as an outlaw, since in the United Kingdom the suffragettes were notorious for their violent means in achieving suffrage for women.

Ahmed states that "emotions work as a form of capital: affect does not reside positively in the sign or commodity but is produced only as an effect of its circulation" (121). Therefore, the postcards were a means by which friends or relatives could share their political beliefs by purchasing, sending, or collecting them. The cards acted as an invitation to have a conversation on political topics in the intimate setting of a living room. As the cards were shared, they gained traction and created a shared circle of feeling on a political topic. Ahmed describes emotion as moving sideways through "sticky" associations between signs, figures, and objects (120). As an example, a song heard repeatedly in a similar situation evokes emotions in us and creates what we think is a reaction to the song. However, it is actually the contact between the person and the song which evokes the emotions. Therefore, the meaning of the emotion the song evokes emerges from personal experience. These experiences may be created also historically or culturally. The example of a song evoking emotions works on a personal level, but the anti-suffragette postcards as objects work in a broader cultural setting, since by collecting sets of postcards and displaying those at coffee tables, the conversations held were inevitably political by nature. The conversations held in private homes had notable political influence, as the misogynistic anti-suffragette postcards circulated, creating discussions, and raising emotions, which then impacted the view society had on matters such as women's suffrage.

5.2.1. Fear and anxiety

Ahmed's line of argument can be used to open up the emotions that surface in the anti-suffragette postcards. In the postcard below, the subject (a man) is depicted being left with the children whilst his wife goes out to vote. The threat for the man is the loss of his place as the head of the family, and his new role would have also included taking over the domestic duties traditionally reserved for the wife: caring for children and taking care of the family home. These new unfamiliar tasks evoke

fear and anxiety, as the man is suddenly in charge of tasks he might have never done before, for instance, doing laundry or cooking for the family. For women, the postcard evokes pity towards the children, a sense of responsibility, and the fear of not wanting to become "that sort of women". Suffragettes were deemed attention-seeking and selfish for abandoning their families for the sake of achieving suffrage.

A suffragette's home ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

In the postcard above, a man is standing in the middle of a room, staring at the viewer as if to convince them to think about the distress he is feeling about the situation, simultaneously alarming others facing a similar fate. Next to him is a table full of laundry and a girl, who has buried her face in the laundry, seemingly distressed. Beneath the girl is a younger girl who has also buried her face in the laundry. The home seems messy as there is a smoking lamp in the corner of the room as well as a water jug on the floor. According to Palczewski, "by virtue of being a man, men were incapable of pursuits in the domestic realm" (*The Male Madonna*, 378). The man in this image seems incapable of taking care of the home and the children, and the text implies that these tasks are reserved for his wife. Additionally, the older girl's socks are torn. These details in the postcard suggest that the home of a suffragette is messy and chaotic.

There is a sign in the left corner of the room that states, "votes for women!" to emphasize the home belonging to a suffragette. The note pinned to sign indicates that the mother has left the home to take part in a campaign, whilst the text below the image indicates that the father has just returned

home after a day of work. The text emphasizes the message of suffragettes not fulfilling their domestic duties, whereas the man has to come home after a hard day of work to a broken home and take care of the tasks which the suffragettes have left for them. The effect of having the two girls in the postcard is to make the viewer have sympathy for the family of the suffragette, and not the mother who has she has abandoned them to pursue suffrage. This postcard is one of the few cards presented in this study that explicitly instructs people to join the anti-suffrage league. Evoking feelings of pity towards the family and anxiety towards ending up with the same fate as the man in the postcard work in favor of the opposers of women's suffrage and might have been enough to make people consider joining the counter-movement.

Ahmed describes: "the presence of these others is imagined as a threat to the object of love" (118). In the case of the men and women opposing women's suffrage, they were often intimidated by depictions of broken family life, the effects women's suffrage would have on children, and the threat women's suffrage would pose to the whole nation. Thus, the anti-suffragette postcards afford the circulation of fear. Although fear is a survival response, the sources of fear can be culturally specific as people learn how to have emotions in a cultural setting. To clarify, emotions are not distinguished from one another in a vacuum biologically: they are constructed socially and culturally. Therefore, the emotion of fear is culturally generated and may be attached to different objects or ideas.

Ahmed discusses the concept of fear working as an affective economy; fear does not reside in an object or a sign, and this allows for it to move across signs and between bodies (128). That is, the postcards themselves are not the cause of fear, but they work to allow the experience of fear to circulate. The meanings attached to women in the anti-suffragette postcards, such as women being portrayed as being promiscuous and using their bodies to gain votes, has a sub-text of women's bodies being used as commodities, as an exchange to gain votes from men. The authority for women to use their bodies how they want is, therefore, attached to promiscuity and to manipulative behavior, which respectable women should not demote themselves into doing.

5.2.2. Disgust and shame

Ahmed's examples relate primarily to the sharing of racist language rather than the literal circulation evident in the sending, receiving, and displaying of anti-suffragette postcards. When applied to the circulation of postcards, the impact of the cards was magnified due to the personal connections between people implicit in the form of circulation. The emotions of those opposing women's suffrage were circulated in society along with the anti-suffragette postcards. Sharing the ideas and

emotions generated discourse, thereby attaching emotions to the subject. The word choices and depictions of women in the cards generate effects. For instance, the anti-suffragette postcards often depict suffragettes as harridans or spinsters, making it harder for women to want to be associated with the suffragettes. Moreover, suffragettes were shamed and deemed inferior citizens who could be ridiculed for their advocacy.

Suffragettes who have never been kissed ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

The postcard above features five older women with sullen expressions. All women are wearing dresses typical to the 20th century as well as vintage style hats. The text on the left upper corner of the postcard states "Suffragettes who have never been kissed". Again, the depiction of suffragettes as crones is used to make the battle of the suffragettes seem trivial, a plot of older women to establish their position in society since they have not been able to marry. The historical reality of the era was that numerous women were unmarried after losing their husbands to war. Still, attaching suffragettes to solely older, unmarried women was a trope used to drive younger women away from the movement. Evoking an emotion requires less story context and in this postcard the feeling of disgust is achieved with little context. This postcard does not have a narrative without the text, so it differs from the other postcards discussed in the section on the crone in the previous chapter.

As we saw in the previous chapter, most of the anti-suffragette postcards present women as an extension of a man and are depicted via the three ages of a woman – from maid to a mother, and finally, a crone. The bitterness and anger of women who are not able to get married is what drives women's suffrage, this anger is also attached to old age and unattractiveness. A woman's value is defined through their attractiveness, which diminishes women as objects to look at, whose value can be decided according to their social status or appearance. Furthermore, women whose social status

is defined by their husbands are easily manageable – the change that women's suffrage would have meant to this power position was a threat to men.

Whereas Ahmed offers an example of asylum seekers being deemed as "the others", the anti-suffragette cards depict suffragettes as "the others" (123). The suffragettes were seen as renegades who wanted to change existing social structures and values, and by doing so threatening the order of society. Especially in the United Kingdom, where the militant organization WSPU took direct and sometimes violent action towards achieving women's suffrage, the women were separated from their traditional gender role and deemed "others" as women were not expected to act violently or to express anger. The angry crone is one of the most common tropes appearing in the anti-suffragette cards and suffragettes were in general often depicted as aggressive by the opposers of women's suffrage, whether the aggression was pointed towards their husbands and families or towards society as a whole.

5.2.3. Humor

Ironic humor, or ridicule, is an important affect in the anti-suffragette postcards. According to Hutcheon, ironic humor evokes emotional responses and has an affective dimension to it (2). Therefore, the seemingly humorous aspects, such as illustrating a suffragette kissing a man and the text in the postcards stating: "suffragette vote-getting the easiest way", are used to hide the primary emotion – fear. Palczewski argues that only by using cartoon images instead of verbal discourse, the emasculation of men, due to their wife's gaining voting rights, is possible to be communicated, since cartoons are able to project unconscious desires and fears which men would not have wanted to verbalize (*The Male Madonna*, 387). The comic style was achieved by illustrating caricatures combined with bright colors, and sometimes by creating a layout similar to comics. For instance, the postcard in the previous chapter featuring "the origin and development of a suffragette" has multiple panels which emphasizes the illustration's comic style.

Humor is often used to create distance to the actual matter at hand and such serious issues as the civil rights of women could be minimized to depictions of girls stealing trousers from a boy. Additionally, the cards were often comical to soften the misogynistic tropes in the cards, for instance, violence against women was downplayed by depicting caricatures of women. In addition to being used as a tactic to downplay serious matters, humor was used as a way to avoid the backlash that could have been voiced if the cards were taken more seriously (Florey, 213). Approaching the subject of women's suffrage through humor allowed an escape – if the misogyny would be called out and deemed wrong, the opposing side could always disregard the criticism by stating that the inten-

tion was to lightheartedly joke on the expense of the suffragettes or ignore the criticism altogether. Moreover, making the suffragettes and their cause seem laughable through their depictions in a comic style made the ridicule "stick" to the suffragettes. Thus, the circulation of anti-suffragette postcards made the suffragettes and their cause seem ridiculous, undermining the movement and rendering women's suffrage an issue which could, and should, be disregarded.

The suffragettes also used a comic style to depict the force feeding of several suffragettes, who were in a hunger strikes to force a response from the authorities. In this type of postcard, the humor is contrasted with the realism of the victim and so it works in a different style than the humor in the anti-suffragette postcards. For instance, the fourth postcard in section "4.4. The Crone or the Witch" depicts the suffragette being force-fed. In this postcard the suffragette is illustrated in a more realistic style than the two men force feeding her, who are both drawn in a comic style. Drawing the suffragette in a more realistic style was a method to try and evoke empathy in the person viewing the card. Moreover, by downplaying the misogyny with humor, the suffragettes made sure that they were able to depict the horrific torture they endured without shocking their audience with too realistic depictions of the torture.

The opposers of women's suffrage utilized ironic humor in order to downplay the misogyny in the anti-suffragette postcards, and moreover, the opposers of women's suffrage were able to attach their fear of what would happen if women were to achieve suffrage to the suffragettes through humor. Florey recognizes that ironic humor might have been used also due to the realization that women's suffrage could not be stopped (213). The ironic humor of the cards was, at first, an effort to try and stop women's suffrage from happening and later, the final attempt to proclaim how the antis felt about women achieving suffrage. Humor is also a powerful communication tool and, in relation to the anti-suffragette postcards, the cards thought to be funny were more likely to be shared with friends and family.

5.3. Participatory Culture

When women vote ("Women's Suffrage and the Media")

"When women vote", states the text on the left corner of the postcard above. Three women are portrayed sitting in the middle of a room, smoking cigarettes, gambling, eating chocolate and slandering their husbands. Meanwhile, on the left corner of the postcard, a seemingly exhausted man is washing clothes and taking care of a baby. The clothes of the man resemble those of a butler, whereas the women are wearing high heels and elegant dresses. Furthermore, two of the women are showing their ankles, they are all wearing figure-hugging dresses, and have youthful faces. Suffragettes were depicted as engaging in political activities for the sake of attention, rather than achieving suffrage for women. Additionally, the women are talking about their husband's working hours, which seem to last around the clock, from Monday to Sunday. Husbands were left taking care of the domestic duties while their suffragette wives enjoyed themselves, seemingly less concentrated on political advocacy than indulgence.

The sign next to the man on the side of the door states: "Notice to fathers – wash your shirts with Sud's soap". Suds are the froth which is created when soap and water are mixed together, but this sign is direct citation of a particular brand of detergent, Sud's soap. The specific choice of domestic task – laundry – is 'sticky' with further associations. During the early part of the American Civil War, some of the women who joined the army were called "laundresses" (Wallen-Sena, 8). Numerous women were on different duties, but only the laundresses were sanctioned by the army. These laundresses did not have a high status in the army and were mostly involved in "women's duties" (Wallen-Sena, 9). Thus, the sign prompting fathers to wash their shirts with Sud's soap refers to men being downgraded to laundresses, while simultaneously blaming them for not standing up to

women. Interpreting this image requires more knowledge of the setting and actions involved in the setting. For instance, the information on Sud's soap and how actions such as gambling and smoking were reserved for men at the time. These are the kind of intertextual references that Gee's *Fill in Tool* helps to uncover, since the postcards can entail historical details that might go unnoticed.

Gee's *The Making Strange Tool* helps to uncover underlying assumptions and stereotypes from the text. "Women's work" traditionally refers to domestic duties, mostly as household chores and taking care of the children. Different identities hold different status in society and the status one has in society holds power (Frye). In the postcard above the implication of the postcard is that women would replace men in society by achieving the same status that men had. The threat that women posed to society and culture was the abandonment of traditional gender roles and what that would mean for society – a new order in household chores, workplaces, and families. Postcards acted as an effective tool for communicating the fear men and women alike felt towards women achieving suffrage. Sharing these postcards between friends and family made it possible for these fears to circulate in society.

Nowadays, technology enables the circulation of different ideas through social media. Social media platforms, such as YouTube, Twitter, or Instagram encourage people to engage with each other and their surrounding in various ways. For instance, in the wake of the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May 2020, the protest movement against police brutality Black Lives Matter was supported by the users of Instagram by posting black squares accompanied with the movement's hashtag. Thousands of people posted black squares in solidarity to the cause while simultaneously circulating information on what had happened. The black squares circulating on Instagram is an example of Participatory Culture during the digital age are. During the suffragette era, the anti-suffragette postcards were circulated in a similar manner.

Jenkins and Ito describe Participatory Culture as a culture which:

> Embraces the values of diversity and democracy through every aspect of our interactions with each other – one which assumes that we are capable of making decisions, collectively and individually, and that we should have the capacity to express ourselves through a broad range of different forms and practices. (2)

As stated above, individuals actively participating in sharing ideas and expressing themselves in different mediums are integral to the concept. Therefore, individuals are not only consuming mate-

rial, but are active participants in creating and molding culture. Additionally, as the means of participating have become more accessible to ordinary people, and do not require anything more than a smart phone and access to the internet, the diversity of the people joining in the conversations have increased.

Different forms of Participatory Culture include affiliations (memberships in online communities), expressions (fan fiction writing, zines, etc.), collaborative problem-solving (Wikipedia, alternative reality gaming such as Dungeons and Dragons), and circulations (Jenkins et al., 3). Circulation is described as an activity "shaping the flow of media", which includes podcasting, blogging, and other types of cultural expression (Jenkins et al., 3). Postcards were an increasingly popular communication method during the suffragette era, which enabled for women to start actively participating in the discussion regarding their human rights and for the opposers to express their views on women's suffrage.

The circulation of postcards during the suffragette era is a form of Participatory Culture, as the suffragettes were able to activate women to take part in the political discussions by designing postcards. Additionally, the opposers of women's suffrage saw the value in the production and circulation of postcards, and countered the women's rights movement with anti-suffragette postcards, which attempted to maintain the status quo of only men being able to take part in political decision-making. Women's suffrage-themed postcards, whether pro- or anti-suffragette by nature, were either sent to friends or relatives, or collected for coffee table albums. As these coffee table albums containing political postcards were shown to friends or family, they enabled political discussions to be had at home. Having a coffee at someone's house, or having a coffee at your own home, usually means that one does not leave suddenly or at least before the appropriate time for having coffee is over. Therefore, this form of Participatory Culture is stronger than the form found in social media, since it is possible to leave Instagram or other social media platforms but leaving someone's home suddenly while drinking coffee is considered rude in most cultures. Participatory Culture has increased significantly during the networked era, but other forms of this culture can be found in, for instance, the circulation of postcards involved in the battle of women's suffrage during the 19th century.

The anti-suffragette propaganda was circulated in society in the form of small cultural items, postcards. The postcards enabled conversations about political topics to be had in private homes and enforced the already existing misogynistic ideas in society. Postcards as cultural objects enabled for the misogynistic ideas to "stick" to the suffragettes and to women. Moreover, each postcard created

a narrative which the viewer of the card is invited to expand, as the scene depicted in the card can be imagined and more importantly, the implications of what had happened before and what happens after the scene is left to the interpretation of the viewer. Postcards acted as a form of Participatory Culture during the suffragette era, since the cards were designed, send, and received from one person to another, making them participate in politics. Also, the cards displayed in family albums made the political conversations topics which could be discussed over coffee between friends and family, therefore inviting them also to participate in political discussions.

6. Conclusion

The newly found interest towards anti-suffrage materials in the 2020s relates to the centennial of women achieving suffrage, as well as the re-activation of women's rights movements due to women's struggles in President Trump's America. During the suffragette era, opposers of women's suffrage produced anti-suffragette postcards to respond to the women's rights movement and to prevent them from achieving equality for women. A family is a small unit of society and can be perceived as a reflection of society as a whole, therefore, the suffragettes were not only attacking society as a whole in the minds of the opposers but were also questioning the prevalent gender norms and the gendered division of labor. Thus, the threat women's suffrage posed to society was greater than politics; it would also change the power relations at home. This fear led to the production and high-speed circulation of misogynistic propaganda postcards, as postcards were an effective and inexpensive method of communication at the time. The anti-suffragette postcards reveal the underlying misogynistic attitudes that were present in society. The norm was that White wealthy men were more privileged in society during the 19th century and, therefore, the circulation of these misogynistic cards was possible. This norm needed to be protected by anti-suffragette actions, since the suffragettes defied the status quo.

In this study, New Historicism helped to unveil the "little histories" of the actual lives of men and women and deviated from the "grand narratives" of the suffragette leaders, which are usually in the center of suffragette conversations. Moreover, Cultural Materialism was utilized to show how the postcards were used as objects meant to change the political situation. The connected aims of this study were to examine the circulation of cultural ideas with material objects, and to examine the cultural phenomenon of sharing. Firstly, the ideas and values implied in the postcards were examined, followed by an analysis of the practices of circulation from three vantage points.

The suffrage themed postcards were political by nature and can be described as propaganda for or against women's suffrage. The suffragettes used mostly real photographs of marches or other demonstrations in their postcards, as they felt that real life photos would show how many were in reality in support of the suffragettes. Contrary to the suffragettes, the opposing side utilized comic style, humor, and ridicule to counter the women's rights movement. These anti-suffragette postcards were misogynistic by nature. These misogynistic tropes inform that the gender roles of the time were static as there was little room for movement out of one's perceived gender. Some of the tropes were easier to recognize and some were underlying assumptions and stereotypes made about

both women and men. Critical Discourse Studies was used to study the misogynistic tropes in the postcards, but as the method mainly relates to language in use, Multimodal Discourse Analysis was chosen as an approach, which would also allow the analysis of visual materials.

The first research question prompted was: How do the different misogynistic tropes in the anti-suffragette postcards connect with storytelling and traditional tales? The anti-suffragette postcards encouraged story building, that is, the cards asked for the viewer to create a story of what would happen if women were to achieve suffrage. Moreover, the viewer is asked to create a narrative of how a woman transforms into a suffragette and what it means to become one. Depictions of crying babies or burnt-out husbands in relation to the suffragettes imply that women's suffrage would result in chaos and unrest, since as women their place in society was at home, not in the political sphere. Opposers of the suffragettes were able to utilize the traditional gender roles and humor in their counterattack. These tactics enabled for the postcards to be easily understood and circulated in society.

These misogynistic tropes were derived from fairytales and traditional narratives, revealing, and enforcing the implicit ideas and values towards women already in existence in society. The depictions of women are connected to these attitudes and stories, since story building needs to happen through making connections. Four main tropes could be found from the postcards, as the cards show the process of a woman's maturation. These main tropes were the maiden, the mother, the temptress, and the crone or the witch. The final trope presented in the study relates to how men were portrayed in the postcards. However, these tropes were also intertwined in multiple cards, since, for instance, the mother would be transformed into a temptress after joining the suffragette movement and using her sexuality to advocate for the cause.

"A fair maiden" or "a damsel in distress" are common tropes in traditional tales. Depicting women as maidens in the anti-suffragette postcards represented the loss of innocence. This innocence was lost after the woman became a suffragette as they embodied traits, which were not traditionally attached to the gender role of a woman. Becoming a suffragette meant the loss of innocence in the form of childlike obedience. Furthermore, the suffragettes became far too knowledgeable and this "knowing" woman lost her innocence after acquiring too much information and appearing too intellectual to be considered a woman. However, as the physical features of a woman continued to develop, her mental state stayed the same. Therefore, she could be sexualized and treated otherwise as a woman, but her innocence meant that she was incapable to make decisions on her own and should not be invited into politics.

In multiple anti-suffragette postcards, women are viewed as first and foremost mothers, whose choice of becoming a suffragette results in her abandoning her family. Women are depicted as mothers whereas men are mostly free of responsibility regarding their offspring. In traditional tales, women are often missing and replaced by evil mothers or monsters. Additionally, the absence of mothers hurts the family, as their presence is essential to the family life. In relation to a woman's motherhood, children were often used to evoke feelings of sympathy for the children abandoned by their suffragette mothers. Cherubic characters are also common in traditional tales and children are often used to comment on political issues to bring lightheartedness to the issue. Children were depicted in the anti-suffragette postcards to both undermine the civil rights movement and to infantilize the suffragettes. However, the suffragettes also used cherubic characters in their advocacy, such as Rosie O'Neill's Kewpie, and by doing so also infantilized women.

One of the tropes visible in the anti-suffragette postcards is the temptress. The temptress is a powerful woman, who uses her sexuality to lure men into their demise in various tales. Pertaining to the women's suffrage movement, the temptress lures men into supporting the cause, simultaneously condemning the men to a future after women have both entered the political sphere and abandoned their domestic duties. The temptress, the "other woman", is set apart from the moral codes of society and, therefore, she poses a threat to the family as well as the role of a woman as a pure and respected mother. The other woman is allowed to express her sexuality, but this sexuality renders her unqualified to enter the world of politics and, moreover, she is denied the protection of belonging into a family, meaning, the protection of a man.

An elderly wise woman can sometimes be depicted as a cronelike character in traditional stories, but in relation to the suffragettes their wisdom causes for them to become angry and bitter crones. The suffragettes who are depicted as crones are ridiculed for their knowledge, but their knowledge is still valued and, as one of the anti-suffragette cards depicts, other suffragettes are still willing to listen to the clownlike suffragette. In several postcards, the suffragettes are portrayed as angry older women who appear bitter for not being married, they are hating men, who did not want them and taking revenge to society by advocating for women's suffrage. Participating in political activities changes their appearance from beautiful coquettes to crones.

However, suffragettes were also portrayed as witchlike characters, who were punished for their knowledge. A witch is a typical villain who is commonly punished for their evil deeds in fairytales. Defying the status quo resulted in suffragettes getting tortured and incarcerated, as the fear men felt towards them grew. This torture is depicted to serve as a warning to other suffragettes and a re-

minder to women to stay in their place. The comical style of the cards diminished the impact the cards would have had if the portrayals of torture and violence would have been thought of as reality, as it was for several suffragettes who had to endure vile treatment during their advocacy.

In traditional stories, men are usually illustrated as heroes or monsters. However, in the anti-suffragette postcards, men are portrayed as underdogs, who are dominated by their suffragette wives. Overall, the depictions of men rely on enforcing the traditional gender roles and the division of domestic duties according to these gender roles. Additionally, men are feminized in the cards, not only because of their new role as taking on the domestic duties of their wife, but also due to their wife gaining the right to vote. If women's suffrage were to happen, men would either be feminized by women entering the political sphere or they would be feminized by having to take on the domestic duties of a woman. Either way, the end result would be that men would lose their privileged position in society.

A woman's position in society was directly linked to her marital status, her relationship to a man. A woman remained a maiden, as long as she did not marry or become a suffragette. Moreover, the sanctity of motherhood protected women from being deemed various derogatory stereotypes, such as a temptress or a crone. Motherhood was contrasted with illustrations of women as temptresses, crones, and witches. The sanctified mother-and-wife was portrayed as the opposite of suffragettes, which opened an opportunity for the opposers of women's suffrage to justify their ridicule of the suffragettes and sometimes violent measures towards these women. However, numerous women were also part of the opposers of women's suffrage, and women both send and received cards more than men. Some of the leaders of anti-suffrage associations were women, who thought that women achieve suffrage would not be beneficial for women, but on the contrary, would justify their resistance by referring to the Holy Scripture, female physical frailty, the well-being of children, marital stability, and social order. Furthermore, the private family home belonged to the woman; the public life belonged to the man. This internalized misogyny, the ideas of a woman's inferiority, were so instilled in culture that numerous women believed them to be true, and therefore objected the idea of women achieving suffrage.

The second research questions asked: how were these ideas circulated in society during the Golden Age of postcards? There is no exact data available on how these cards were brought and sold, and so this study has answered the question by interpreting the power of circulation through three theoretical lenses. The postcards invited the viewer to envision a world where women had achieved suffrage. Through tropes from storytelling and traditional narratives, anti-suffragette entities were able

to use existing misogynistic attitudes and ideas to counter the suffragette's efforts to achieve suffrage. During the suffragette era, the postcards were unparalleled as a communication method. Postcards were affordable, delivered quickly, and accessible to virtually everyone. These postcards did significant political work and acted as a form of propaganda for both sides of the battle. As postcards were also collected to coffee table albums, the political issues became more personal since the whole family, including the friends and relatives, who were invited for a coffee could be invited to discuss the themes in the postcards.

The anti-suffragette postcards required more engagement than cards with beautiful landscapes or holiday-themed cards. The cards have affordances which allow for the cards to be understood as narratives and by asking the viewer to create the narrative that is implied in the card, the viewer "invests" in the postcard. In the context of individual postcards, for instance, the postcard depicting the "origin and development of a suffragette", shows the process from little girl to a suffragette, and the postcard itself is quite explicit. The implications of the process itself are for the viewer to create in their head: women become suffragettes out of bitterness and jealousy towards the beautiful coquette's, who got married and had children. In relation to all of the anti-suffragette postcards, the cards encourage the viewer to create an image in their minds of what would society and their lives be after women had already achieved suffrage.

The women's suffrage movement faced strong resistance from men and women alike and strong emotions were attached to the subject. The anti-suffragette postcards demonstrate how the fear felt by the opposing side could be attached to the suffragettes and their cause. The emotions evoked by the cards hide the primary affect – fear. Admittedly, the emotions that surface vary depending on the person viewing the card, but some basic emotions can still be classified from the cards. Fear and anxiety were evoked in both men and women opposing women's suffrage, as the meaning of women achieving suffrage was linked with the new order of family life as well as domestic duties. Moreover, women entering the political sphere would mean that politics would become feminized and, therefore, men also. The women opposing the cause asserted that in reality, women's position in society would deteriorate, as they would enter a realm not fit for their natural characteristics as women. This fear of losing the role as "chief minister" of the "family state" led for many women to oppose the movement.

The suffragettes were depicted as witchlike crones, evoking disgust and shame in viewer of the card. Disgust was evoked in both men and women by the crude depictions of the suffragettes, but for women, seeing suffragettes who were decidedly also women, would have evoked shame. This

shame would prevent women from declaring themselves as supporters of the movement, as they saw how in the public eye they would be also ridiculed and, most importantly, they might become the suffragettes. These negative emotions were attached to the suffragettes and their cause, as the objective was to prevent women's suffrage from happening and to ridicule the suffragettes. One of the most prominent emotions in the postcards are ironic humor and ridicule, which were used to create distance to a serious matter of women's suffrage and to downplay the portrayals of suffragettes. On a small scale, the violence against the suffragettes was minimized by using a cartoon style and drawing caricatures of the suffragettes in individual postcards. However, as a large number of the anti-suffragette postcards were drawn in a comical style, the whole movement along with the suffragettes could be condemned as trivial.

In a similar manner to how social media works nowadays, the suffrage-themed postcards were circulated in society. Different cards were sent, received, and collected to coffee table albums. Thus, the cards enabled for political conversations to be had at home, between friends and family. Furthermore, the postcards were designed and produced by several different entities, which increased the involvement of people in the political activities.

The misogyny in the anti-suffragette postcards stem from the patriarchal structures of the era and the division of wealth, power, and value to White men. The privilege White men had in comparison to other social groups, such as women and people of color, was valuable as it enabled them to control political decision-making as well as social structures in the form of domestic life. In addition, the gender roles of the time worked in favor of men, as they were inherently deserving of a higher position and political decision-making in society, due to their intellect, assertiveness, and logical thinking, which women were perceived lacking. The women opposing women's suffrage were assured that men were deserving of their place in society and that the place for a woman is at home, as a caretaker and a mother. This internalized misogyny caused for numerous women to take part in anti-suffragette activities and even lead anti-suffragette organizations. The fear of losing the privileges and status in society, which were achieved by the oppression of other social groups, made White men afraid of the suffragettes and made them act against the suffragette movement during the 19th century.

The limitations of this study include not having access to the kind of data which would have enabled a more quantitative approach to the subject. That is, exact statistics of how many postcards were circulating during the suffragette era and how many of these were anti-suffragette postcards. Further research on the subject would benefit from this kind of information, as the number of post-

cards would inform the researcher of the popularity of the postcards, therefore enabling the study of how frequent and effective the use of the postcards on both sides of the battle was in reality.

The anti-suffragette postcards were firstly an attempt to stop women from achieving suffrage, and secondly, an attempt to proclaim how the opposers felt about the suffragettes and their cause. The effects of the anti-suffrage cards, whether comic or real photos, cannot be undermined, since the effect of these cards might have been the most prominent among the population yet to decide their stance on the matter of women's suffrage. The anti-suffragette postcards afforded the circulation of fear. The cards themselves did not cause fear but allowed for the experience of fear to circulate in society. Combined with the aspects of how the postcards invited story building and based their depictions of men and women to tropes from fairytales and traditional narratives, the anti-suffragette postcards acted as powerful tools in creating associations and opinions relating to the women's suffrage movement. Still, women achieved suffrage in both the United States and the United Kingdom, despite the resistance and the public opinion being seemingly against the suffragette's cause. As for the anti-suffragette postcards, the volume of production and popularity does not necessarily reflect the public opinion on women's suffrage but emphasize the way effective propaganda can work to enforce cultural narratives already prevalent in society. In relation to equality, change might have been already on the way, but the suffragettes made sure that the wheels of change would keep on turning until women's suffrage would become reality.

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